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## Mahadev Govind Ranade,<sup>π</sup>

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As in the case of most members of the middle class who subsequently rise into prominence by sheer dint of merit, very little is known of the ancestry of this remarkable man. Like most families of Mahratta Brahmins, his ancestors too had served in one capacity or other under the Peshwas. Apur Pant, his great-grand-father, was the representative or Vakil of the Sangli State at Poona. Amrita Rao, his grand-father, was a Mamlatdar in the Poona District and his father was head clerk to a Mamlatdar of Niphad in the District of Nasik.

Mahadev was born on the 18th January 1842. It is said he began his English education very late in his eleventh year. But his vernacular training had given him a good grounding in Mahratti culture. From 1851—56, he studied at the Kolapur High School. From there he came to the Elphinstone Institution since known as the Elphinstone College, where he encountered some of the best educationists of the day like Sir Alexander Grant and acquired the beginnings of that wide culture for which he was so well-known in after-life. Mr. Gokhale tells of him that Ranade was once well rebuked by his teacher Sir Alexander Grant for drawing a disparaging comparison between the British Government and the Mahratta rule and had his scholarship suspended for six

months Mr Ranade's diligence in his College studies soon brought him brilliant academic successes. He passed his B A in the first division in 1862, received a gold medal in History and became a fellow of the University in 1865. In 1866 he passed the I L B with honours.

First, a Mahratti Translator in the Educational Department,—then a Karbhari of the Kolhapur State at Akalkot, then again a Professor of English Literature in the Elphinstone College—but the Educational Department did not give him scope enough for his ambition and he chose the profession of Law like many other ambitious youths.

With his vast talents and his hard work no wonder he soon rose in his career as a lawyer. From a Law Reporter in the High Court, to a Subordinate Judge, thence to a Presidency Magistrate, Judge of the Poona Small Cause Court, and Special Judge under the Agriculturists' Relief Act and finally he rose thence to the highest rung in the ladder of an Indian's ambition—as a Judge of the High Court at Bombay.

The activities of Ranade were many-sided. Himself an ardent patriot, he was the inspirer and the guide of every movement undertaken by his fellow-countrymen for the good of the country. He was the principal promoter of the Sarvajanika Sabha, a sincere devotee of the Prarthana Samaj, the General Secretary of the Indian Social Conference, an important member of the Bombay Senate. His tongue, pen, time and purse, his energies and his very life he devoted to



the cause of his country and he gave the weight of his talents and position to every honest movement started in the interests of the country.

History, and economics were his favourite walks in the field of literature; His 'Rise of the Mahrattas' and his essays on Indian Economics are to be found in almost every house-hold library in India.

Ranade died in 1901, on the 16th January,—  
 "to the last buoyant and hopeful, with a faith that never shirked duty, with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated," pointing towards the vision of a renovated India which he said, "will yet take her proper place among the nations of the world and be yet the master of the situation and of her own destiny" He died pointing at the goal to be reached, giving his brethren a vision of the promised land!

# The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade.

*India a Thousand Years Ago*

INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE 1900

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN — This time last year, I had occasion, at the inauguration of the Conference held at Madras to speak on the subject of "Southern India, a thousand years ago", to day I find myself far away in the North, surrounded on all sides by the traditions of a civilization older than the oldest known to history, the land of the Aryan race settled in India, tracing its descent from the self born Suryambu Manu, where the Solar dynasty flourished for thousands of years the land of the Ikshvaku, of Dilip and Raghu of Dasharathi, and the incarnate hero Rama, with his illustrious brothers and the still more honored wife Sita, the land where Visishta and Viswamitra lived and flourished, the home of all that is beautiful and true and lovely and godlike in Aryan history. This favoured land of yours gave birth also in later times to Sakhyamuni Buddha who has been well described as the perfection of humanity in its highest and noblest development, and whose ' wheel of law ' still regulates the thoughts and feelings of half the human race in its efforts to attain the attitude. The South and the North thus contrasted together suggest recollections that are so overpowering that I am tempted on this occasion when we meet to inaugurate the work of the Conference at Luknow to dwell for a few moments on this

subject, and I bespeak your thoughtful attention to the lessons it suggests. Far in the South which is now the stronghold of Brahminical ideas uninfluenced by outside contact, the Aryan civilization no doubt made its way, but it continued to be an exotic Civilization confined to a small minority of Aryan settlers so few in numbers that they were overwhelmed by the influences of the earlier Dravidian Dominion. It never made its home in those remote regions and the common people continued their adhesion to their old worship and to their old faiths under new names. What the effects of this subordination were was depicted in my address at Madras in the words of a foreign missionary who lived and worked a hundred years ago and who had exceptional opportunities of studying these effects. I propose this time to draw your attention to the turn which the Aryan civilization has taken under the influences represented by the conquests of this part of the country by the Mahomedans nearly a thousand years back. The one factor which separates Northern India from its Southern neighbours is the predominant influence of this conquest by the Mahomedans which has left its mark permanently upon the country, by the actual conversion to the Mahomedan faith of one fifth of the population and by the imperceptible but permanent moulding of the rest of the people in the ways of thought and belief the like of which is hard to find on the Malabar or Coromandal Coasts. I propose to draw my materials from the Mahomedan philosophers and travellers who visited India both before and after the Mahomedan conquest had changed the face of the country. Owing to the absence of the historic instinct among our people we have necessarily to depend upon the testimony of foreign historians. That testimony is, however unexceptionable

because it was for the most part given before the Mahomedan domination had effected the Separation which distinguishes the old India of the past from the modern India in which we are now living. This domination also separates the line which marks off Southern India of which I spoke last year from the North in one of the most representative centres of which we are met here to day. At the outset we must have a correct understanding of what Northern India was before Mahomed of GIZNI made his numerous expeditions for the plunder of its far famed cities and temples at the commencement of the tenth century. Fortunately for us we have a witness to this period of our history in the writings of Alberuni whose work on India was written shortly after the time that Mahomed crossed the Indus as a conqueror of Infidels. This work has been translated by Dr Sachau a professor in the Berlin University and in its English form is now accessible to us all. Alberuni was a native of Khorasan his birth place being near Khiva. Mahomed of GIZNI conquered Khorasan and Alberuni had thus to shift to GIZNI which was then the seat of a flourishing empire the rulers of which were great patrons of Mahomedan learning. Alberuni was in special favour with Masud the son of Mahomed and he was thus enabled to travel throughout India where he spent many years having mastered the Sanskrit language. He was a philosopher by profession and temper and had a special liking for Indian philosophy, which he studied with the same care and attention that he bestowed on Plato and Aristotle. His work on India consists of eighty chapters relating to religion philosophy caste idolatry civil polity, literature, science, mathematics medicine geography astronomy, cosmogony alchemy and Astrology.

He took great pains to give a full description of all that was known to the Hindus under these several heads and being naturally not a bigotted Mahomedan his book shows that he wrote his whole work with a single desire to promote the cause of true learning. While Alberuni shows a great regard for the Hindu philosophy, astronomy and medicine, he was not slow in finding out the weak points of the Indian character. In his chapters on caste and idolatry in the condemnation he pronounces on the want of practical aptitudes of our people and in their devotion to superstitious observances Alberuni did not spare his censures. He contrasted the democratic equality of the Mahomedan people with the innumerable divisions of the Indian races. He notices the helpless position of the women of India and the filthy customs and the habits of the people in those days. He gives praise to the few educated Brahmins whom he separates from the superstitious multitudes whose fallen condition he deplores. Even among the Brahmins he notices the verbosity of their writings and the words splitting which passed for wisdom. He notices the greediness and tyranny of the Hindu princes who would not agree to join their efforts together for any common purpose and the timidity and the submission of the people who in his expressive language were "scattered like atoms of dust in all directions" before the invading Moslems. The prevailing feeling among the Mahomedans of the time was that the Hindus were infidels and entitled to no mercy or consideration and the only choice to be allowed to them was that of death or conversion. Alberuni did not share in these views but these were the views of his master Mahomed of Ghazni and of the hordes who were led by him on these expeditions. Another traveller Ibnbatuta a native of Tangiers in

North Africa, visited this country about a hundred years after Kutbudin established the Afghan kingdom at Delhi. Like him he was taken into favour by the then Delhi emperor, Mahomed Tighak, under whom he acted for sometime as Judge of Delhi. Ibenbatuta travelled more extensively than Alberuni. He travelled from the extreme West of Africa to the Extreme east of China and went round the Coast from Malabar to Coromandal. He was, however not a philosopher nor a scholar. His journal of travels is interesting, but he did not observe the manners and customs of the people with the same mystery of details that Alberuni's work shows on every page. The only points which struck Ibenbatuta in the course of his travels through India were the rite of Sati of which he was a witness and the practice of drowning men in the Ganges both of which struck him as inhuman to a degree he could not account for. He also notices the self mortification of the jogees and their juggleries in describing which last he mentions the fact that in the presence of the emperor he saw a jogee raise his body up in the air, and keep it there for sometime. Another traveller Abdur Rizzak visited India about 1450 A. D. His travels lay chiefly in the Southern Peninsula, Calcut, Varringar and Mangalore. The narratives of two other travellers one a Russian and the other a Venetian who both visited India in the fifteenth century, are published by the Hakluyt society which afford most interesting reading. The general impression left on the minds of these travellers was a respect for the Brahmins for their philosophy and attainments in astrology, but for the common people, the vast multitudes of men and women their sense was one of disgust and disappointment. Abdur Rizzak expressed

this feeling in his own words in a reply to the invitation of the king of Vizianagar.

He said to the king : "if I have once escaped from the desert of thy love and reached my country, I shall not set out on another voyage even in the company of a king." In Southern India, these travellers found that both men and women, besides being black were almost nude, and divided into innumerable castes and sects which worshipped their own idols. This abuse of idolatry and caste struck every traveller as the peculiar characteristic of the country, and gave them offence. The practice of self-immolation or Sati and of human sacrifices to idols by being crushed over by the temple car are also mentioned. Finally we have the testimony of the emperor Babar who in his memoirs thus describes this country :—"Hindusthan is a country which has few things to recommend. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society or of freely mixing together in familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manners, no kindness or fellow feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning and executing their handicraft work, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses, no good flesh, no good grapes or musk melons, no good fruits, no cold water or ice, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths, no colleges, no candles, not even a candlestick. They have no aqueducts or canals, no gardens and no palaces, in their buildings, they study neither elegance nor climate nor appearance nor regularity. Their peasants and lower classes all go about naked tying on only a langoti. The women, too, have only a lang." The only good points which Babar could find in favour of Hindusthan

were that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver, and there is also an abundance of workmen of every profession and trade for any work and employment

Such was the picture presented to the Mahomedans when they entered India through the passes in successive hordes for three or four centuries. A great portion of the disgust and disappointment felt by these Mahomedan invaders may be set down to ignorance and the pride of race. At the same time, it is always of advantage to know exactly, how India appeared in its strong and weak points to intelligent foreigners such as those we have mentioned above. The question for consideration to us at the present moment is, whether in consequence of the predominance of the Mahomedans for five centuries which intervened from the invasions of Mahomed to the ascendancy of Akbar the people of India were benefited by the contact thus forcibly brought together between the two races. There are those among us who think that this predominance has led to the decay and corruption of the Indian character, and that the whole story of the Mahomedan ascendancy should for all practical purposes, be regarded as a period of humiliation and sorrow. Such a view, however, appears to be unsupported by any correct appreciation of the forces which work for the elevation or depression of nations. It can not be easily assumed that in God's Providence such vast multitudes as those who inhabit India were placed centuries together under influences and restraints of alien domination, unless such influences and restraints were calculated to do lasting service in the building up of the strength and character of the people.



in directions in which the Indian races were most deficient. Of one thing we are certain, that after lasting over 500 years, the Mahomedan empire gave way and made room for the re-establishment of the old native races in Punjab, and throughout Central Hindustan and Southern India on foundations of a much more solid character than those which yielded so easily before the assaults of the early Mahomedan conquerors. The domination therefore had not the effect of so depressing the people that they were unable to raise their heads again in greater solidarity. If the Indian races had not benefited by the contact and example of men with stronger muscles and greater powers, they would have never been able to re-assert themselves in the way in which History bears testimony they did.

Quite independently of this evidence of the broad change that took place in the early part of the eighteenth century when the Mogul empire went to pieces, and its place was taken up not by foreign settlers, but by revived native powers we have more convincing grounds to show that in a hundred ways the India of the eighteenth century, so far as the native races were concerned, was a stronger and better constituted India than met the eyes of the foreign travellers from Asia and Europe who visited it between the period of the first five centuries from 1,000 to 1500. In Akbar's time this process of regenerate India first assumed a decided character which could not be well mistaken. No student of Akbar's reign will fail to notice that for the first time the conception was then realised of a united India in which Hindus and Mahomedans, such of them as had become permanently established in the country, were to take part in the building of an edifice rooted in the

hearts of both by common interest and common ambitions in place of the scorn and contempt with which the Mohammedan invaders had regarded the religion of the Hindus, their forms of worship their manners and customs and the Hindus looked down upon them as filthy and impious whose touch was pollution. A better appreciation of the good points in the character of both came to be recognised as the basis of the union. Akbar was the first to see and realize the true nobility of soul and the devotion and sincerity of the Hindu character, and satisfied himself that no union was possible as long as the old bigotry and fanaticism was allowed to guide the councils of the empire. He soon gathered about him the best men of his time men like Fazi Abul Fazi and their father Mubarik the historians Mirza Abdul Rahim Nazamuddin Ahmad, Badiun and others. These were set to work upon the translation of the Hindu epics and Shastras and books of science and philosophy. The pride of the Rajput races was conciliated by taking in marriage the princesses of Jampur and godhpur and by conferring equal or superior commands on those princesses. These latter had been hitherto treated as enemies. They were now welcomed as the props of the empire and Mirajai Bagwandis his great nephew Mansingh for some time governor of Bengal and Abdul Rya Thodar Mal and the Brahmin companion of the emperor Raja Birbal these were welcomed to court and trusted in the full consciousness that their interests were the same as those of the Mohammedan noblemen. The emperor himself guided by such counsel of his Hindu and Mohammedan nobles became the real founder of the union between the two races and this policy for a hundred years

guided and swayed the councils of the empire. A fusion of the two races was sought to be made firmer still by the establishment of a religion of the *Din-i-Ilahi* in which the best points both of the Mahomedan Hindu and other faiths were sought to be incorporated. Invidious taxation and privileges were done away with and toleration for all faiths became the universal law of the empire. To conciliate his subjects, Akbar abjured the use of flesh except on four special occasions in the year, and he joined in the religious rites observed by his Hindu queens. In regard to the particular customs of the people relating to points where natural humanity was blocked in a way to make union impossible Akbar strove by wise encouragement and stern control where necessary to help the growth of better ideas. Sati was virtually abolished by being placed under restraints which no body could find fault with. Remarriage was encouraged and marriage before puberty was prohibited. In these and a hundred other ways the fusion of the races and of their many faiths was sought to be accomplished with a success which was justified by the results for a hundred years. This process of removing all causes of friction and establishing accord went on without interruption during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. Shahjahan's eldest son Dara Sheko was himself an author of no mean repute. He translated the Upanishads and wrote a work in which he sought to reconcile the Brahmin religion with the Mahomedan faith. He died in 1659. This period of a hundred years may be regarded as the halcyon period of Indian history when the Hindu and Mahomedan races acted in full accord. If in place of Aurangzeb Dara Sheko had succeeded to power as the eldest son of

Shahajahan the influences set on foot by the genius of Akbar would have gathered strength and possibly averted the collapse of the Mogul power for another century. This was however not to be so, and with Aurangzeb's ascent to the throne, a change of system commenced which gathered force during the long time that this emperor reigned. Even Aurangzeb had however, to follow the traditions of his three predecessors. He could not dispense with Jaising or Jiswanth Singh who were his principal military Commanders. In the reign of his son, whole provinces under him were governed by Rajput Rājasthā and other governors. The revival of fanatic bigotry was kept in check by the presence of these great Rajput chiefs, one of whom on the re imposition of the *Jezir* addressed to the emperor a protest couched in unmistakable terms that the god of Islam was also the god of the Hindus and the subjects of both races merited equal treatment. Aurangzeb unfortunately did not listen to this advice and the result was that the empire built by Akbar went to pieces even when Aurangzeb was alive. No one was more aware of his failure than Aurangzeb himself who in his last moments admitted that his whole life was a mistake. The Marathas in the South the Sikhs in the North and the Rajput States helped in the dismemberment of the empire in the reigns or his immediate successors with the result that nearly the whole of India was restored to its Native Hindu Sovereigns except Bengal Oudh and the Deccan Hyderabad. It will be seen from this that so far from suffering from decay and corruption, the Native races gathered strength by reason of the Mahomedan rule when it was directed by the wise counsel of those Mahomedan and Hindu statesmen who sought the wheel of the country by a policy of toleration and equality. Since the time of Ashoka the

Delhi, was a distinct advance beyond what was possible before the tenth century of the Christian era.

More lasting benefits have however accrued by this contact in the higher tone it has given to the religion and thoughts of the people. In this respect both the Mahomedans and Hindus benefited by contact with one another. As regards the Mahomedans, their own historians admit that the Sufi-heresy gathered strength from contact with the Hindu teachers and made many Mahomedans believe in transmigration and in the final union of the soul with the Supreme spirit. The Moharam festival and Saint worship are the best evidence of the way in which the Mahomedans were influenced by Hindu ideas. We are more directly concerned with the way in which this contact has affected the Hindus. The prevailing tone of Pantheism had established a toleration for polytheism among our most revered ancient teachers who rested content with separating the few from the many, and established no bridge between them. This separation of the old religion has prevented its higher precepts from becoming the common possession of whole races. Under the purely Hindu system, the intellect may admit, but the heart declines to allow a common platform to all people in the sight of God. The Vaishnava movement, however, has succeeded in establishing the bridge noted above, and there can be no doubt that in the hands of the followers of Ramananda, especially the Kabir Panthis, Malikdasis, Dridu Panthis, the followers of Mirabai, of Lord Gauranga, on the Bengal side, and Baba Nanak in Punjab in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the followers of Tukaram, Ekanath and Namdev, in the Deccan, Baba Lalus, Pranatanthas, Sidhs, the Satguris, the Shivanarayans and the

element of strength born of union was wanting in the old Hindu dynasties who succumbed so easily to the Mohammedan invaders.

Besides this source of strength there can be no doubt that in a hundred other ways the Mohammedan domination helped to refine the tastes and manners of the Hindus. The art of Government was better understood by the Mohammedans than by the old Hindu sovereigns. The art of war also was singularly defective till the Mohammedans came. They brought in the use of gun powder and artillery in the words of Babar they brought ingenuity and mechanical invention in a number of handy crafts arts the very nomenclature of which being made up of non Hindu words shows their foreign origin. They introduced candles paper glass and household furniture and saddlery. They improved the knowledge of the people in music instrumental and vocal medicine and astronomy and their example was followed by the Hindus in the perversions of both these sciences astrology and alchemy, geography and history were first made possible departments of knowledge and literature by their example. They made roads aqueducts canals caravanceries and the post office and introduced the best specimens of architecture and improved our gardening and made us acquainted with a taste of new fruits and flowers. The revenue system as inaugurated by Thodar Mal in Akbar's time, is the basis of the revenue system up to the present day. They carried on the entire commerce by sea with distant regions and made India feel that it was a portion of the inhabited world with relations with all and not cut off from all social intercourse. In all these respects the civilization of the united Hindu and Moslem powers represented by the Moguls at

Delhi, was a distinct advance beyond what was possible before the tenth century of the Christian era.

More lasting benefits have however accrued by this contact in the higher tone it has given to the religion and thoughts of the people. In this respect both the Mahomedans and Hindus benefited by contact with one another. As regards the Mahomedans their own historians admit that the Sikh heresy gathered strength from contact with the Hindu teachers and made many Mahomedans believe in transmigration and in the final union of the soul with the Supreme spirit. The Moharram festival and Saut worship are the best evidence of the way in which the Mahomedans were influenced by Hindu ideas. We are more directly concerned with the way in which this contact has affected the Hindus. The prevailing tone of Paganism had established a toleration for polytheism among our most revered ancient teachers who rested content with separating the few from the many, and established no bridge between them. This separation of the old religion has prevented its higher precepts from becoming the common possession of whole races. Under the purely Hindu system the intellect may admit, but the heart declines to allow a common platform to all people in the sight of God. The Vaishnavite movement however has succeeded in establishing the bridge noted above and there can be no doubt that in the hands of the followers of Ramananda especially the Kabir Panthis, Mirakdis, Dadu Panthis the followers of Mirabai, of Lord Gauranga on the Bengal side, and Baha Narak in Punjab in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the followers of Tukaram, Ekanath and Namdev, in the Deccan Baba Lalas, Pranavanthis Siddhis, the Satnams, the Shivanarayans and the

followers of Mahant Ramcharan of the last two centuries—this elevation and the purification of the Hindu mind was accomplished to an extent which very few at the present moment realize in all its significance. The Brahmo and the Arya Samaj movements of this century are the continuations of this ethical and spiritual growth. Caste, idolatry, polytheism and gross conceptions of purity and pollution were the precise points in which the Mahomedans and the Hindus were most opposed to one another and all the sects named above had this general characteristic that they were opposed to these defects in the character of our people. Nank's watchword was that he was neither Hindu nor Mahomedan but that he was a worshipper of the Nanki or the formless. His first companion was a Mahomedan and his teacher is said to have been also a Mahomedan. Lord Gurranga had also Mahomedan disciples. Mahomedan saints like Shrik Mahomed Shrik Farid and Mahomed Kazi were respected both by Hindus and Mahomedans. The abuses of Polytheism were checked by the devotion to one object of worship which in the case of many of these Vishnavi sects was supreme God, the Paramatma and the abuses of caste were controlled by conceding to all Hindus and Mahomedans alike the right to worship and love the one god who was the god of all. In the case of the Sikhs the Puritanic spirit even developed under persecution into a coarse imitation of the Mahomedan fanaticism directed against the Mahomedans themselves but in the case of the other sectaries both old and new the tolerant and the suffering spirit of Vishnavism has prevailed breathing peace and good will towards all.

Such are the chief features of the influences resulting from the contact of Mahomedans and



Hindus in Northern India They brought about a fusion of thoughts and ideas which benefitted both communities making the Mahomedans less bigotted and the Hindus more puritanic and more single minded in their devotion There was nothing like this to be found in Southern India as described by Dabois where the Hindu sectarian spirit intensified caste, pride and idolatrous observances The fusion would have been more complete but for the revival of fanaticism for which Aurangzeb must be held chiefly responsible Owing to this circumstance the work of fusion was left incomplete and in the course of years, both the communities have developed weaknesses of a character which still need the disciplining process to be continued for a longer time under other masters Both Hindus and Mahomedans lack many of those virtues represented by the love of order and regulated authority Both are wanting in the love of Municipal freedom in the exercise of virtues necessary for civic life and in aptitude for mechanical skill in the love of science and research in the love and daring and adventurous discovery the resolution to master difficulties and in chivalrous respect for womankind Neither the old Hindu nor the old Mahomedan civilization was in a condition to train these virtues in a way to bring up the races of India on a level with those of Western Europe and so the work of education had to be renewed and it has been now going on for the past century and more under the Pax Britannica with results which all of us are witnesses to in ourselves

If the lessons of the past have any value one thing is quite clear to us, that in this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mahomedans join hands together and are determined to follow

the lead of the men who flourished in Akbar's time and were his chief advisors and councillors and sedulously avoid the mistakes which were committed by his great grand son Aurangzeb. Joint action from a sense of common interest and a common desire to bring about the fusion of the thoughts and feelings of men so as to tolerate small differences and bring about concord these were the chief aims kept in view by Akbar and formed the principle of the new divine faith formulated in the Dini-Ilahi. Every effort on the part of either Hindus or Mohammedans to regard their interests as separated and distinct and every attempt made by the two communities to create separate schools and interests among themselves, and not to heal up the wounds inflicted by mutual hatred of caste and creed, must be deprecated on all hands. It is to be feared that this lesson has not been sufficiently kept in mind by the leaders of both communities in their struggle for existence and in the acquisition of power and predominance during recent years. There is at times a great danger of the work of Akbar being undone by losing sight of this great lesson which the history of his reign and that of his two successors is so well calculated to teach. The conference which brings us together is especially intended for the propagation of this *din* or 'Dharma' and it is in connection with that message chiefly that I have ventured to speak to you to-day on this important subject. The ills that we are suffering from are most of them self-inflicted evils, the cure of which is to a large extent in our own hands. Looking at the series of measures which Akbar adopted in his time to cure these evils, one feels how correct was his vision when he and his advisors put their hand on those very defects in our national character which need to

be remedied first before we venture on higher enterprises Pursuit of high ideas mutual sympathy and co-operation, perfect tolerance, a correct understanding of the diseases from which the body politic is suffering, and an earnest desire to apply suitable remedies this is the work cut out for the present generation The awakening has commenced as is witnessed by the fact that we are met in this place from such distances for joint consultation and action All that is needed is that we must put our hands to the plough, and face the strife and the struggle, the success already achieved warrants to expectation that if we persevere on right lines, the goal we have in view may be attained That goal is not any particular advantage to be gained in power and wealth It is represented by the efforts to attain it, the expansion and the evolution of the heart and the mind which will make us stronger and braver, purer and truer men This is at least the lesson I draw from our more recent history of the past thousand years, and if those centuries have rolled away to no purpose over our heads, our cause is no doubt hopeless beyond cure That is however not the faith in me, and I feel sure it is not the faith that moves you in this great struggle against our own weak selves than which nothing is more fatal to our individual and collective growth Both Hindus and Mahomedans have their work cut out in this struggle In the backwardness of female education, in the disposition to overleap the bounds of their own religion, in matters of temperance in their internal dissensions between castes and creeds in the indulgence of impure speech, thought, and action on occasions when they are disposed to enjoy themselves, in the abuses of many customs in regard to unequal and polygamous marriages, in the desire to be extravagant in their

expenditure on such occasions, in the neglect of regulated charity, in the decay of public spirit in insisting on the proper management of endowments in these and other matters both communities are equal sinners and there is thus much ground for improvement on common lines. Of course, the Hindus being by far the majority of the population, have other difficulties of their own to combat with, and they were trying in their gatherings of separate castes and communities to remedy them each in their own way. But without co-operation and conjoint action of all communities success is not possible, and it is on that account that the general conference is held in different places each year to rouse local interests and help people in their separate efforts by a knowledge of what their friends similarly situated are doing in other parts. This is the reason of our meeting here and I trust that this message I have attempted to deliver to you on this occasion will satisfy you that we can not conceive a nobler work than the one for which we have met here to day.

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A. M. BOSE.

## Ananda Mohan Bose.

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Ananda Mohan Bose was born in East Bengal in 1846. Gifted by nature with an acute intellect, he soon came into prominence. When barely sixteen years of age, he secured the first place in the Entrance Examination of 1862. He took his M. A. degree from the Calcutta Presidency College, where he had distinguished himself at every examination during his collegiate course. On leaving college he competed for and won the Premchand Roychand Scholarship of Rs 1,000. He served for some time as Professor of Mathematics in the Engineering college and then in the company of the brilliant and masterful Keshub Chunder Sen he proceeded to England, where he joined Christ's College at Cambridge. Soon his ability brought him into prominence there also and he became President of the Cambridge Union for some time. He was sixteenth wrangler at the Mathematical Tripos,—in those days a high unprecedented distinction for an Indian—and soon after he was called to the Bar and returned to India in 1874.

Mr Bose, instead of achieving distinction at the Calcutta Bar, commenced his career at the mofussil where he soon attained a high degree of success and amassed money enough to invest in the Assam Tea Industry. Meanwhile his quick witted energies were

directed also to problems of education. In all that concerned students, he had been taking a lively interest and in 1877, he was appointed a Fellow of the University of Calcutta and the year after, while at thirty-two, he was elected a Syndic for the Faculty of Arts. He did much good work in the University and although his strenuous attempts at converting the Calcutta University into a teaching University proved futile he succeeded in getting the age limit for the Matriculation candidates abolished. He remodelled the Prema and Roychand Scholarship Examination the scholarship being made more an incentive to future work than a reward for past labours. When Lord Ripon recognising his eminent position as an Educationist offered him the Presidentship of the Education Commission in 1882 he is said to have declined the honour, for the purely unselfish reason that his being a native would detract from the weight of the Commission's recommendations. However, he accepted a seat on the Commission and tried to be of use to the President Sir W. Hunter. He opened two Schools one for boys and the other for girls. The former known as the City School opened in 1880, still survives as the City College with a building of its own opened by Lord Ripon. The latter has been amalgamated by the Bethune College Committee with their Institution.

Mr. Bose was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1886 and in 1890 he took his seat again as the elected representative of the University. He was also a Municipal Councillor. He

was instrumental in organising on a sounder basis two of the great institutions of Bengal—the National Indian Association and the Indian Association for the cultivation of science.

In his private life Mr. Bose was intensely religious. At first a follower of Keshub Chunder Sen and his devoted adherent, after the break-up of Keshub's Samaj, Mr. Bose along with others founded another Samaj for religious worship. His piety and zeal continued, unabated ever affectionate and charitable, he had many firm friends and admiring acquaintances.

In 1897, his health being indifferent, he was advised to proceed to Europe. After a short stay in Germany he went over to England and for some period he under the auspices of the British Committee of the Congress, addressed many public meetings, pleading for the redress of India's wrongs. His incessant labours in this direction told heavily on his health. In 1898, being chosen to preside over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress at Madras he delivered one of the most soul-stirring addresses ever known in Congress annals. His health failing subsequently he retired from public life, to reappear but only once at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall—"in obedience to the trumpet call of duty." He died in 1906, leaving his countrymen "a little more of the earnest longing to be good and true and useful before their day cometh and their life's work is done."



# A National Awakening.

## FOUNDATION OF FEDERATION HALL

ADDRESS BY A M BOSE.

My beloved friends Mahomedan and Hindu, Fellow citizens of one and indivisible Bengal—A Rishi of old blessed the gods that he had lived to see the day when the divine sage of Kapilavasthu was ushered into the world. I am not a Rishi nor worthy to touch the feet of one, but yet I bless our Father in Heaven, who is the common Father and Judge of the Englishman and the Indian alike that I have lived to see this day, which marks I think I may say the birth of a nation. I come amongst you as one almost risen from the dead to see this moment of a national upheaval and of national awakening. Drawn from my sick bed, where I have been secluded from the world by serious illness for nearly a year, allow me to express my grateful thanks to you for the great and the signal privilege you have conferred on me by associating me with\*your selves on this great and historic occasion which will live in the annals of Bengal, and mark an epoch in its history. I see around me after a long time the faces of many dear friends and comrades who have been in the front of the fight. I salute them and I salute you all on this day of solemn recollections and solemn resolves.

It is indeed a day of mourning to us when the province has been sundered by official fiat, and the

gladsome spirit of union and of community of interest which had been growing stronger day by day, runs the danger of being wrecked and destroyed, and many other evils into which this is not the occasion to enter are likely to follow in its wake. And yet in the dispensation of Providence not unoften out of evil cometh good, and the dark and threatening cloud before us is so fringed with beauteous gold and brightening beams, and so fraught with the prospect of a newer and a stronger national union, that we may look upon it almost as a day of rejoicing. Yet, as our glorious poet has sung in one of his many noble and inspiring utterances, *Mora Gang e Bin Ashe che'* the dead currentless, and swampy river has felt the full force and fury of the flood, and is swelling in its depths. Have we not all heard the booming of that national call and its solemn summons to our hearts? Let our souls mount forth in gladness to the throne of the Most High at this sacred fatal hour of the new and united Bengali nation let us bear in mind, as a writer in the *Patrika* has said that from dark clouds descend life giving showers and from parted furrows spring up the life sustaining golden grain that in bitter biting winter is laid the germ of the glorious spring. I belong to the sundered Province of East Bengal, and yet, my brethren never did my heart cling more dearly to you, or your hearts cherish us more lovingly than at the present moment, and for all the future that lies before us. The official separation has drawn us indeed far closer together and made us stronger in united brotherhood. Hindu, Mussulman and Christian, North, East and West, with the resounding sea beneath—all belong to one indivisible Bengal, say again, my friends, from the depth of your hearts, to one indivisible Bengal—the common

the beloved, the ever-cherished Motherland of us all. In spite of every other separation of creed, this creed of the common Motherland will bring us nearer, heart to heart, and brother to brother.

And this Federation Hall, the foundation stone of which is being laid to day not only on this spot of land, but on our moistened, tearful hearts is the embodiment and visible symbol of this spirit of union, the memorial to future generations yet unborn of this unhappy day and of the unhappy policy which has attempted to separate us into two parts. It will, I trust, be a place for all our national gatherings, in its rooms will be held social reunions and meetings for different purposes. There will be probably gymnasiums, room for a library of reference, and of useful publications, and for news papers, classes for the singing of national songs, and for the recitation and cultivation of all that promotes a spirit of patriotism, of self sacrifice, and true culture, accommodation, too I hope, will in time be provided for visitors from other parts of Bengal, and, it may be, of India. Those of you who have been to Amritsar have seen how the golden temple there is throughout day and night the scene of worship of holy reading, and holy associations. I hope in the same way this Hall will be a place where all that moulds and forms a growing nation, all that uplifts and regenerates the national character, and turns it up to true manhood and every noble impulse, shall always find their place and at its shrine shall come for worship every member of the Bengali nation. It will be a temple raised in honour of our common Motherland, not only for national union but also for national progress. Let me earnestly appeal to you all and through you to the millions of Bengal, for funds to make this temple worthy of itself.

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The rich will, I have no doubt, from their abundance give thousands and tens of thousands, but I trust no Bengali, however poor, will refrain from bringing his offering to this shrine, his prayer for its completion, and his efforts for its suitable maintenance. Let every brick of this building bear testimony to the devotion and patriotic ardour of our people. Let us remember that here shall be formed the integrating factors—the factors that will make for our union against the disrupting influence of a divided interest and divided Government.

I rejoice from my heart that this ceremony is presently to be followed by an inauguration for furthering and consolidating the industrial development of the country, on which depends the material salvation of millions in this land. And yet the two inaugurations are not separate, but one, and like the sacred Ganges and the holy Jumna they will commingle their waters and unite their waves in one merry march to the azure sea. In this Hall I believe, lectures will be delivered and discussions held on all subjects bearing on the commercial and industrial progress of the country. Its rooms will contain economic museums and samples of commercial products of the land—even though on a small scale for the present this may be—and experiments will be held of a practical character. It will be the rendezvous of all interested in this great cause of industrial progress, and will in various other ways promote those interests. In fact, this Hall will as it grows and expands be the natural and the necessary home of the movement for the industrial advance of the country. And it is fitting that from this scene of the future Federation Hall, you shall march together in solemn procession,

to the scene of the industrial ceremony at the house of our honoured friend, Rū Prāsūti Nāth Bose

Here let me address a few words to you on the agitation which has convulsed this province for the last two months in connexion with the question of its partition, and stirred from its innermost depths the heart of every section of the community, from the highest to the lowest, from the rich zemindār in the town to the poorest of the poor in his humble cottage. For they indeed fatally misapprehend this movement who imagine that it is the student community or any other single section or two in the province that has caused this upheaval. I thank you all for the ardour, devotion and spirit of sacrifice which have so far distinguished your efforts. I have heard of people and even of respectable journals which speak glibly of the lawlessness and disobedience to authority of our student community. Let me bear testimony—and this I can do from personal knowledge—as to what is thus described as lawlessness and disobedience on the part of students of British universities, whom our students would not even dream of approaching in this respect. But I will not pause to give examples numerous and glaring as they are, but wonder whether our rulers and our critics, most of whom I presume have passed through the universities of their country have so completely forgotten the experiences of their own student days. Why, our students are absolutely spotless, in comparison with British youths as, indeed, I believe they are spotless, not as a matter of comparison only, but by themselves.

Let us, my friends, continue in the same career—regardless of our own personal interest and all individual and sectional jealousies, if such indeed there be.

For if the true spirit of loving sacrifice and nothing of a baser mixture be ours surely God will provide for us and for you, my student friends and grant us true happiness and the true blessing—how great only those who have tasted it can say—of a self-consecrated existence. Let us all specially see to it that no lawlessness characterise or even tinge our proceedings. Let us be the victims if need be but never the perpetrators of wrong—the victims it may be of ignorant misinformed or perverse authority or of a too often unscrupulous police. We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. No Yagna is complete without sacrifice and this is the teaching of all scriptures. Let us be prepared if such should be the short sighted and suicidal policy of any of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Motherland for from the thorns we shall tread will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave them birth. The air is full of rumours of repressive action of the authorities specially against our students. I do not know whether to believe them or not for in spite of confidence in the present ruler of the province, and I believe his singleminded desire to do justice there are administrators and advisers behind and beneath him and the pages of history are filled with instances in which repression, and not sympathy or kindness or attempt to change convictions has been the last hope of a discredited bureaucracy the last weapon of an irresponsible authority. How futile too and doomed to failure and much worse than failure such attempts have been is also amply shown in the self same pages but lessons of wisdom and past experience are not unhappily always learnt or always profited by. But I pray of the Most High that in this crisis he may guide the counsels of our rulers unto the paths of righteousness and justice. Let them remember the



golden rule and place themselves in our position let them act that they may answer on the Day of Judgment for the exercise of the great powers with which they have been entrusted over their fellow creatures, and what they have done to these, the least of their brethren. And I venture to appeal to all Englishmen not to shun us but to side and sympathise with us in this struggle for the simple assertion on our part of human rights appeal to them that they may be true to their noblest ideals which have made their annals and proceedings famous and immortal in history, and grant us a little of the liberty and freedom which they have themselves enjoyed in such abundant and bounteous measure.

One has heard of different orders in this country for religious and philanthropic service of vows of self sacrificing devotion carried to life & last day. Enter you my friends into what I might call the order of the Motherland or of Bangladesh and with characters unstained aims that are placed high and spirits that are pure and noble and absolutely self forgetful serve the land and suffer for the land of your birth. Hindus and Mussulmans let us in the name of God all unite in this sacred crusade for the welfare and prosperity of our common mother. We have come most of us bare of foot and in garbs of mourning to the site of our future shrine. Silent are the busy marts of men and silent is the roar of trade. Throughout the town and its suburbs all shops—Hindu Mussulman and Marwari—are closing all shops in fact except the small fraction owned by Englishmen. We all present in our tens of thousands here and millions throughout the provinces I believe are fasting to day and no fires shall be kindled in our hearths. But let that fire burn in

our hearts, purify us, and kindle an enthusiasm which shall be all the brighter and all the warmer for the quenched fire in our homes.

And now, farewell my friends, with these, which may perchance be the last words which I shall utter to you on this side of Eternity. Farewell on this day of fraternal union, when the bond of Rakhi is tied in our arms. Much that comes pouring into my heart must remain unsaid. Ours is not the land of the rising sun for to Japan victorious, self sacrificing and magnanimous, belongs that title, but may I not say that ours is the land where the sun is rising again where after ages of darkness and gloom, with the help (let me gratefully acknowledge) of England and English culture, the glowing light is bursting once again over the face of the land. Let us all pray that the grace of God may bless our course, direct our steps, and steel our hearts. Let action, and not words, be our motto and inspiring guide. And then shall my dream be realised of a beautiful land blessed by nature, and filled by men true and manly, and heroic in every good cause—true children of the Motherland. Let us see in our heart of hearts the Heavens opening, and the angels descending. In ancient books the gods are described as showering flowers and garlands on the scene of a notable battle. See we not my friends those flowers dropped to dry from self same hands, welcoming us to the new battle, not of blood but of manly effort and stern resolve in the country's cause.

And Thou, Oh God of this ancient land the protector and saviour of Aryavarta, and the merciful Father of us all, by whatever name we call upon Thee, be with us on this day, and as a father gathereth his children under his arms, do Thou gather us under Thy protecting and sanctifying care.



BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

# Babu Surendranath Banerjee.

LIBRARY

A born orator with an inspiring presence, a moulder of thoughts with a directing force, a great leader with willing, large following Babu Surendranath Banerjee is a true mirror of the Indian National vessel and his is the holy name that makes the whole India feel united, despite the differences of race, creed and colour. He belongs to the Brahmin caste famous for its wealth of learning.

He was born at Calcutta in 1848.

He is the second of the five sons of Babu Durga Charan Banerjee, one of the leading Allopathic practitioners in Bengal, from whom he inherited his characteristic energy and whole hearted devotion to work. In early childhood Surendranath was sent to a Pathshala for his primary education. At the age of seven he joined the Docton College, an institution then as now mainly directed to the education of Anglo Indian youths. To this fact of his early contact with English speaking youths may be ascribed a considerable share of his facility as an orator of modern times. In 1863 with Latin as second language, he secured a first class in the Entrance Examination. This success brought him a 'junior scholarship'. A pass again in the first class in the F. A. Examination secured for him a "senior scholarship". He graduated in 1868, but only in the second class, owing to attacks of illness.

On the recommendation of the then Principal of the Duxton College and against the wishes of his relatives Surendranath was sent to England in 1868 to compete for the I C S. He joined the University College in London and worked assiduously as a student under Professor Henry Morley and Professor Goldstucker from whom he studied English and Sanskrit respectively. In 1869, he appeared for the I C S along with Messrs R C Dutt, Behary Lal Gupta, and Sripad Babaji Thakur. A paltry sentimental objection as to his being over the prescribed age was waived by the authorities. Surendranath was, however, allowed to compete for the Examination, and came out successful. He was posted as Assistant Magistrate of Sylhet in September 1871, and came back to India, just a few weeks after the unfortunate death of his father.

### III

the staff of the Free Church College without severing his connection with the former Institution. In 1882, he started a school with about a hundred students on the roll and it grew into the modern Ripon College one of the foremost of Educational institutions in Bengal. In 1887, a branch school was established at Howrah.

Babu Surendranath began his journalistic career by taking charge of the *Bengalee* which had been started chiefly by Mr. W. C. Bonerjee. He converted it from a weekly into a daily and edited it with such conspicuous ability that its circulation now stands at about 3,000 copies. While editor, he, wrote fearlessly in 1884 about the eccentric conduct of a judge of the Calcutta High Court, who had in a case capriciously ordered the production of an idol (a *saligram*) in evidence. He was in consequence prosecuted for contempt of Court and was sentenced by a majority of judges, (Sir R. C. Mitter dissenting) to two months imprisonment. The case excited the keenest interest in the country and a wave of sympathy and indignation passed over it when the sentence was pronounced—indignation at the harshness of the sentence, and sympathy for the fearless and patriotic victim of judicial wrath.

As a public man Babu Surendranath's sense of public duty was so strong that, when the Indian Association was started in 1876 under the auspices of men like Messrs. A. M. Bose and M. M. Ghose, in spite of the death of his only son that morning, he

attended the inauguration meeting of the Association in the evening of the same day. Surendranath has long been and still is its Secretary.

In the Congress platform, Babu Surendranath is one of the most prominent figures and perhaps the ablest orator, in its ranks, which India has produced, which latter fact has added not a little to his unbounded popularity. He joined the Congress in 1886 and was known among the moderates of those days as the "red radical" for his fearless exposition of the relations between the Government and the people. But his orations ever held his audience spell-bound and once in the fifth Congress, his stirring appeal for funds brought a prompt response in the shape of subscriptions amounting to Rs. 60,000. In 1895, he was called on to preside over the Poona Congress, and his Presidential Speech occupied over 2 hours and 45 minutes in delivery. At the fifth Congress, it had been resolved that a deputation should be sent to England in connection with the agitation for the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. And Surendranath was on that deputation. By his fervour and brilliant eloquence he extorted universal admiration in England, and his speeches there were chiefly instrumental in building up a public opinion which led to the Legislative Councils Act of 1892. He went a second time to England on a deputation, this time in 1898, as a delegate of the Indian Association to give evidence before the Welby Commission.

In 1893, Babu Surendranath was among the first who sat in the reformed Legislative Councils. In 1894,

he was elected and again in 1896 by the Corporation of Calcutta, in 1898 by the District Board for the Presidency Division. In 1900, although it was not the turn of the District Board to send a representative, Sir John Woodburn valued his services so highly that he accorded the Board the privilege of sending a representative and it elected Babu Surendranath a second time in order to help in the discussion over the Municipal Bill, which was then on the Legislative anvil. While in the Council, he was instrumental in the passing of the Sanitary Drainage Act of 1895, but his opposition to the Calcutta Municipal Act proved futile.

In 1902, he was again elected President of the National Congress. In 1905, when the notorious Partition of Bengal stirred Bengali sentiment to its very depth, Babu Surendranath stood up as the leader and exponent of the National cause and he has been one of the foremost to protest against that impolitic measure by advocating the *Boycott* of British articles. Although he is growing older he is still showing a bold front in the field of politics. Long live Babu Surendranath Banerjee the Pillar of a peoples hope.



# What Swadeshi Really is.

HON. MR. SURI ANDRANATH BANERJEE

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I have heard the Swadeshi movement described as the so called Swadeshi movement by high officials and by the representatives of the Anglo Indian Press. I confess I don't quite understand what is meant by the expression. But I may make a guess. What perhaps is implied is that ours is really a political movement masked under an economic guise. If I am right in this interpretation I will say this that the description is both inadequate and misleading. Swadeshim is or more properly speaking was until its more recent developments a purely economic movement, which, in the particular circumstances of our province received an impetus from political considerations. Swadeshim came into being long before even Lord Curzon assumed the reins of office. Its existence was ignored amid the tumultuous distractions of our political controversies. While other and more ephemeral movements monopolised public attention the infant Hercules was growing in strength and stature laying up for itself a rich reserve fund of energy which was to qualify it for its marvellous achievements in the future. The infant Hercules has now grown into years of adolescence and his labours have just begun.

I have heard the Swadeshi movement described as being in the domain of economics what the Congress is in the domain of politics. I venture to think it is a good deal more than that. It is not merely an

economic or a social or a political movement, but it is an all comprehensive movement co extensive with the entire circle of our national life and in which are centred—the many sided activities of our growing community. It is the rallying cry of all India of her multitudinous races and peoples. It appeals to all—high and low, rich and poor. It is understood by all. The Deccan peasant or the Bengali rustic may find some difficulty in understanding the merits of a system of representative government. The subtleties of the question involved in the separation of judicial from executive functions may elude the grasp of his untrained mind. But when you tell him that the wealth of the country must be kept in the country, that it is to his advantage that it should be so kept and that for this purpose he must purchase country made articles in preference to foreign articles he opens wide his eyes and ears and drinks in the lesson. A glow of intelligence illumines his features. hope for the moment chases away the settled melancholy of his countenance, and he recognises that herein lies the solution of what to him is the problem of problems, the removal of the poverty of himself and of his class. He stands by you and salutes you as his deliverer.

Gentleman fifteen months ago my late lamented friend, Mr Anundo Mohan Bose whose memory you respect and whose name I revere and adore—had a conversation in connexion with the partition question with a high official of the Government. That official said to my friend Mr Bose if the masses were to interest themselves in public affairs the Government of this country would have to be conducted upon totally different principles. We are resolved to bring the masses and the classes together and to

associate them with us in our political agitations. We are resolved to liberalise this great Government and broad base it upon the foundations of the willing loyalty and the devoted allegiance of the people. That it represents the goal of our aspirations. The Congress has brought the educated community throughout the country upon the same platform. Swadeshism will bring the classes and the masses upon the same platform.

Swadeshism is based upon the love of country and not the hatred of the foreigner. I know the statement will at once be challenged. It will be said that Swadeshism has accentuated the acerbities of antagonism. If it has done so we are guiltless. We are in no way responsible for it. We have been the persecuted rather than the persecutors. We have suffered but we have not retaliated. I fail to see wherein the element of racial hatred comes in at all. If you don't choose to purchase an article manufactured by me does it follow that you hate me? (A voice: No.) With similar consistency you may say that because you don't choose to eat food cooked by me therefore you hate me. Absolutely no sort of racial antagonism or strife is involved in Swadeshism. Further, in the domain of the emotions the possessing of a particular quality involves the negation of its opposite. Love of justice involves the hatred of injustice. Love of truth involves the hatred of falsehood. Love of the goods of one's own country necessarily involves dislike—I will not say hatred—of the goods of a foreign country. If there is an element of dislike are we responsible for it? It is inherent in the very nature of things. Once again I say that Swadeshism is based upon the love of country. Our object is to popularise the use of

indigenous articles, to foster the growth and development of indigenous arts and industries and to safeguard the country against the growing evils of impoverishment. Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world—so poor that there is none to do her obeisance. She is no longer the country which once excited the cupidity of foreign conquerors—a country whose pristine splendour brought down upon her fertile plains the marauding hordes from the arid steppes of Central Asia. Her days of prosperity are gone—I hope not for ever. Our poverty is accentuated by the official drain and the commercial drain. The official drain consists of the Home Charges. I may say that until there is a further expansion of the Legislative Councils and we have a potent voice over the public expenditure, the official drain will continue unchecked and undiminished. The commercial drain is a factor which we can grapple with at once. We spend about fifty crores of rupees every year in purchasing foreign articles. In Bengal, gentlemen we spend about sixteen crores every year upon the purchase of foreign manufactured piece goods. Our population is eight crores; therefore independently of the taxes which we pay to the British Government, we pay a poll tax of Rs. 2 (2s. 8d.) per head. We are resolved to put an end to this poll tax. And I ask you to help us to do so.

Swadeshism is an all-comprehensive movement. In Bengal it has revolutionised our ideals and conceptions. The air is surcharged with the industrial spirit. The craze for service has received a check. The spirit of self reliance is abroad. We are making an earnest and organised effort to place education, general and technical, under national control and conduct it in accordance with national ideals and aspirations.

All this represents the trend of things in Bengal. The Bengal of to-day—Bengal after the partition—is a very different place from Bengal before the partition. As I have referred to the partition, I may perhaps for a moment be permitted to allude to that which fills the heart of every patriotic Bengali. Mr Morley has told us that the partition is a settled fact. We decline to accept the partition as a settled fact. We decline to accept what is a wrong, a grievous wrong, an outrage upon public sentiment as among the verities of life and administration. The wrong must be undone. My earnest appeal to you all is to sympathise and to co-operate with us in undoing that which is the most grievous injury that we have suffered in the whole course of our connexion with England. Make it an All India question. It is not a question affecting a mere territorial redistribution. The issues are much graver than that. The question is whether the public opinion of a great province is to be flouted and treated with undisguised contempt in a matter which vitally affects the interests of the province. It is in another form and in a different garb the old old question of the assertion of popular opinion, the vindication of the principle of self government.

In conclusion I would make an earnest appeal to you once again on behalf of Swadeshism. Gather round the Swadeshi movement and uplift its banner. Carry it from village to village, from town to town, and from district to district spread the glad tidings of great joy throughout the length and breadth of this great Presidency. Take the Swadeshi vow and you will have laid broad and deep the foundations of your industrial and political emancipation. Be Swadeshi in all things, in your thoughts and

actions, in your ideals and aspirations. Bring back the ancient days of purity and self-sacrifice. All Asia is astir with the pulsations of a new life. The sun has risen in the East. Japan has saluted the rising sun. That sun in its meridian splendour will pass through our country. Oh, prepare yourselves for the advent of that glorious day. Dedicate yourselves with absolute self-denial to the service of your Motherland. Let us consecrate ourselves to the service of this great and ancient land. Let all differences be buried, all strifes and impossibilities effaced, and let the jarring notes of the party discussions be hushed in the presence of the prostrate form of our Motherland. Swadeshism does not exclude foreign ideals or foreign learning or foreign arts and industries, but insists that they shall be assimilated into the national system, be moulded after the national pattern and be incorporated into the life of the nation. Such is my conception of Swadeshism. Once again in the name of Swadeshism, I ask you to take the Swadeshi vow that from this day forward you will devote yourselves life and soul to the service of your Motherland.

### PROTEST AGAINST BABU B. C. PAL'S INCARCERATION

Babu Surendranath Banerjea said —

We are met here to express our sympathy with Babu Bipin Chandra Pal in his troubles—to record our appreciation of his courage and our strong disapproval of the severe punishment inflicted upon him. Differences of opinion, in respect of public questions are only natural, and I, for one, am prepared to welcome them, when they do not lead to personal recrimination or the debasement of the public taste. There

are many who differ from Babu B. C. Pal in his political ideals and principles. I am not sure to have always been in agreement with him. I differed from him in many matters in the past. I may yet differ from him in the future. But no matter what our differences may be, no matter what may be the character and the complexion of his political creed, if a public man is in trouble in obeying what he believes to be the mandate of his conscience, my sympathies go forth for him. I stand by his side, I grieve over his sorrows, and I would unfeignedly rejoice if I could help to lighten the burden of his miseries. I know something of the horrors of prison life. In the best of circumstances, it is a long drawn agony. For liberty is the very breath of life, the soul of human happiness and no graver misfortune can befall the humblest of us than the deprivation of his liberty. You may be incarcerated in a golden cage and the creature comforts of life may be ministered to you in plentiful abundance, but you are still a prisoner and the most miserable of human beings. I am not here to defend the course of conduct which Babu B. C. Pal followed. You, at any rate, in this assembly need no such defence. It is not the case that he declined to give evidence in all legal proceedings but that in a particular class of Press prosecutions now in vogue he thought it was not his duty to assist the prosecution on the ground that these prosecutions are mischievous and are not conducive to the public well being. Have these prosecutions done us any good? That is the question that I desire to ask. From the popular standpoint, they have done an incalculable service to the community. They have strengthened the impulse of national consciousness and have laid broad and deep the foundations of national life. From the bureaucratic standpoint, they have been disastrous.

Our infallible bureaucracy stands confronted to-day with a dismal record of failure. Repression has failed. One after another, people have gone to jail undaunted by the terrors of the prison. The printer of the *Yugantar* took upon himself the entire responsibility of the publication of the paper, exonerated the manager and went to jail with a smiling countenance. He is a Brahmin and the *Brahminical fire* still glows in his bosom. The editor of the *Smita*, also a Brahmin did not shrink from taking the responsibility of the articles with which he is charged and last but not least Babu B. C. Pal declined to give evidence. I do not speak of our boys—of the devoted and unselfish ones who are in the forefront of the fight. So have the youth of humanity always been in the struggles of the past and of the present, so have been in America, in Greece, in Russia. "Suffer little children to come to me" are the words of the divinely inspired Founder of Christianity; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. The wailing voices of children are heard the loudest in the early hours of the dawn and the birth of great movements is proclaimed by youthful voices pleading for their success before the throne of the Supreme.

Repression has failed, and it has disclosed a fact of startling significance viz., that we have been converted from a submissive to a non-submissive people, that we are no longer Orientals of the old type content to submit to the inscrutable decree of fate but that we are Orientals of the new school who believe that nations by themselves are made and that they, after all are the makers of their own destiny. If I am permitted to say one word by way of warning I would appeal to the



by the contamination of foreign articles. Purify the air around you,—make it *Swadeshi*, make the spirit *Swadeshi*—the heart and soul *Swadeshi*—diffuse the fragrance of *Swadeshi*ism throughout the length and breadth of the land and the great Mother will confer her choicest blessings on you and render *Swadeshi*ism triumphant now and for evermore. Learn to stand on your own legs in the matter of industrial enterprise and as surely as the night follows the day, you will be able to stand on your own legs in all other matters. This is the golden truth which History proclaims through every line of her enduring record.



### BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE'S SPEECH AT THE CONFERENCE



Addressing the Conference on the second day of its sitting Babu Surendranath Bannerjee said —

That he would first speak in English, and then would address a few words to the ladies in Bengali who were within the sound of his voice. He thought he was not guilty of the slightest exaggeration when he said that no movement had, within the life time of this generation excited a deeper feeling or more wide spread enthusiasm than the *Swadeshi* Movement. It was gossip of the family circles, talk of the market place, the theme of the inspiring eloquence of popular poetry. There was a good deal of misconception about the character of this movement in the minds of Englishmen. A high officer of Government had described the movement as the so-called *Swadeshi* Movement (cries of "shame" "shame") The speaker

confessed that he did not understand what was the meaning of that phrase ; but possibly what was implied was that it was really a political movement masked in economical guise. With reference to this interpretation the speaker said that it was most inadequate and misleading. The movement was not wholly an economical one. It had received a considerable volume of impulses from political considerations. The movement was anterior to the Partition. It had been growing silently, majestically in the depths of the society. Its existence had been ignored amidst the tumult of political troubles. While the attention of the people was thus absorbed infant Hercules was growing in strength and stature acquiring a reserve fund of energies for the accomplishment of its marvellous labours in future. What then was the character of this movement ? It was not merely an economical movement. It was not a political movement. It was not even a spiritual or moral movement. But it was a Catholic, all pervading movement in which were centred the many sided activities of a growing nation. It seemed to the speaker as if some beneficent angelic spirit had whispered into the ears of our mother land the shibboleth of her political salvation. No matter whether an Indian was a Mahomedan or a Christian, no matter what language he spoke, no matter what might be his character and complexion what might be his social status or religious belief, he voluntarily held aloft the banner of the Swadeshi movement and hid himself under it. It touched the tenderest chord in the hearts of the people. The Congress presented a platform for the educated classes in the highest development of national life. The Swadeshi movement presented a platform for the educated as well as the uneducated, the literate as well as

the illiterate. What Christianity was to the Christian world, what French Revolution was to Europe, the Swadeshi movement was to India. It was a living religion, living faith, a galvanising factor in our lives calculated to revolutionise our character, our national life. God might be thanked that Lord Curzon was sent out as Viceroy to work out the salvation of this country and the most reactionary of Indian Viceroys would go down to posterity as the conscript father of the Indian nation. Looking at the matter from this point of view, the people regarded the Swadeshi movement as of divine origin. The speaker considered himself and the people to be working under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit. This might be called superstition or fanaticism, it might be called by what name they pleased, but if the people acted in such conviction they were irresistible and invincible. They were proof against prosecution. (Hear hear) Gurkhas might be sent, the most distinguished leaders might be insulted, they might disperse public meetings by the armed police. They might establish a lawless reign of Police tyranny. They might do this and many other things besides, but the more the people were persecuted the firmer they grew in their determination. In the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. (Cheers) The cause consecrated by the sufferings of the young men and leaders, sufferings such as the speaker had witnessed the day before when young men were beaten in his presence with regulation *lathes* by the police, consecrated by their sufferings enabled by patriotic sacrifices, would grow in strength and vitality, and would become the determining factor in the lives of the people. The speaker asked his audience to mark the moral courage of our young men. They had read the story of the Mymensingh students. When they were sent into jail,

British blankets were given to them, but they refused to use them and spent the night in shivering cold. The speaker here spoke about Rajendra Lall Saha, who the speaker noticed, was in the meeting. (At this, the lad stood up and, was loudly cheered by the whole Conference). Continuing the speaker said that when the charge sheet was placed before that young lad for signature what did he do? He refused to sign it until a Swadeshi pen was given him and in fact a swadeshi pen had to be brought though the Magistrate was of the type of Mr Emerson of Barisal. Swadeshi here was glowing in the hearts of the young men. The speaker exhorted the Conference to light up the Swadeshi here in their hearths and homes, once more to take the solemn vow that to the best of their powers they would abstain from the purchase of foreign goods. But that was not all. They should be Swadeshi in their thoughts, ideals and aspirations, Swadeshi in their industrial and educational movements. The National University had been established. A mill was about to be started. The speaker desired to make a earnest appeal to his audience on behalf of the authorities of the mill to come forward with their subscriptions. He asked them to make it a success. If one mill were successful ten mills would follow in the course of the next year. The handmill industry had received a strong impetus. On all sides there was a sign of national revival. The sun had risen and Japan had saluted the rising sun. China had shaken off the lethargy of ages. The sun would rise in his gorgeous splendour in this land of ours. The speaker asked the Conference to prepare themselves for the advent of that day. He asked them to read the history of the world. Bushido was the word which was the secret of Japan's success. He exhorted the audience

to sacrifice everything India was the land of great heroes of self sacrifice Buddha, Chaitanya Nank Guru Govinda, Ram Mohan Roy were heroes of self sacrifice Was the sacred fire, the speaker asked that glowed in their bosom, extinct for ever? He asked the Hindus to remember that in the dawn of the world, they were the teachers of humanity He asked the Mahomedans to bear in mind that in the middle ages, they held aloft the torch of civilization Hindus and Mahomedans were brothers He urged them to stand shoulder to shoulder, and offer their combined services for the spread of the Swadeshi cause and thus pave the way for the industrial, moral and political salvation of their great mother land The speaker asked them to make her future worthy of her glorious past He concluded his eloquent speech by asking his audience to repeat the Swadeshi vow, which they did in one voice to his dictation



G SUBRAMANIA IYER

## G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

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If there is any man who more than any other has contributed to the building up of public life in Southern India for during the last thirty years, it is undoubtedly Sir G. Subramania Iyer. When the political history of South India comes to be written, there can be no doubt that his name will occupy a very high place in it.

He was born in January 1850, on the sacred banks of the cauvery, in Tiruvadi in the Tanjore District, as the fourth of seven sons to Ganapathy Dikshitar, a Brahmin pleader practising in the Munsiff's Court of Tiruvadi. He was sent for his early education to the local School and afterwards to the St. Peter's College in Tanjore where he matriculated in 1871 and passed his First in Arts examination in 1873. In the year 1874 he went to the Normal School at Madras to undergo training for the teacher's profession. In 1875 he entered the church of Scotland Mission School at Madras on a monthly salary of Rs. 40. Two years afterwards he accepted an appointment in the Pachaiyappa's High School Madras. It was about this time that he made the friendship of the late Mr. Veeraraghavachari, his co-adjutor in the Hindu who was then studying for the B. A. Mr. Iyer also appeared for the B. A. Examination in 1877 as a private candidate and came out successful. In 1879, he was appointed Headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School Triplicane.

He now sought a wide sphere for his talents. By this time the need for a journal voicing popular opinion became more and more felt. In spite of circumstances that would have frightened hearts less stout, Mr Iyer with the co-operation of the late lamented Veeraraghava Chinnai and a few others started 'the Hindu' as a weekly. It was subsequently converted into a tri-weekly and afterwards into a daily. "He occupied the editorial chair of 'the Hindu' for about 20 years till on account of circumstances needless to detail here, he had to sever his connection with it in 1898. Of his editorial *regnum*, it is needless to speak. 'The Hindu' became a power in the land. It was distinguished by its ability, fearlessness and sense of public duty, that brought it to the very forefront of organs of public opinion in this country and made it one of the foremost, if not the foremost exponent of independent public opinion. Such was its prestige that Lord Ripon whenever he had occasion to ascertain public opinion on any important measure used to say "Take the Hindu, and see what it says." When in 1898 he severed his connection with 'the Hindu', he started a new weekly English journal called "United India" which he conducted for some time with his usual ability when it changed hands.

Not content with his journalistic work in connection with the Hindu, Mr Iyer had long cherished the ambition of establishing a Tamil organ, for the education of the masses. This ambition was realised when in 1882 the Swadesmitran was started as a weekly. It was subsequently converted



into a duty and has been doing splendid work. It is impossible to speak too highly of the share that the Swadesmitran has had in the political education of the masses in South India. The Silver Jubilee of the Swadesmitran was lately celebrated with much  *éclat*  and rejoicing and Mr Iyer was on the occasion the recipient of many marks of appreciation and esteem from his constituents. Mr Iyer has been and still is a prolific contributor to Journals in all parts of the country and his contributions are always perused with admiration and respect.

Mr Iyer has been connected with the Indian National Congress ever since its birth. He was accorded the honour of moving the first Resolution in the first Congress. He has been a regular attendant of each session of the Congress and in almost every Congress, he has been entrusted with the task of moving important resolutions. In this connection, a few words might be said of Mr Iyer as a speaker. Mr Iyer is not exactly an orator, but those who have heard him at his best will readily acknowledge that he is a very vigorous and effective speaker whether in English or in Tamil. Mr Iyer's services in the cause of the country were recognised in the year 1902, when he was invited to preside over the deliberations of the Madras Provincial Conference held at Coimbatore. His address on that occasion was a weighty pronouncement and a masterly survey of the economic situation of the country. Mr Iyer was also invited to preside over the District Conference at Chittoor held in September 1907 and his address at the Conference ought to be read by one for himself.

in order to be justly appreciated. One other public function which Mr Iyer discharged ought to be noticed. In 1898 when the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure sat in England it was Mr Iyer who was sent as the Madras delegate to give evidence before the Commission. The evidence which he gave was very valuable and has been much admired for the grasp of public questions that it displayed.

His long association with the public life of this country and his experience of its disappointments have shaken his faith in the old 'mendicant' methods of agitation. He is an ardent Swadeshi and boycotter. His services in connection with the Swadeshi movement are among the most valuable that he has rendered to the country. In spite of extreme ill health, he has undertaken tours throughout South India and preached the gospel of Swadeshiism to the masses in the vernacular. What little of Swadeshi spirit exists in South India is due to him alone.

Mr Iyer is one of the staunch friends of social reform in this country. He showed himself to be a social reformer of a practical type when he remarried his widowed daughter in a ceremony which for a time entailed social ostracism. In fact his zeal in this direction brought him into very deep water. But as the wave of the controversy died out and Mr Iyer's sincerity and public spirit became more and more manifest he grew in favour and his popularity has now so revived that there is not one in South India whose word commands greater respect either among the masses or the educated classes.

Mr Iyer was long connected with the Corporation of Madras

Thus in many departments of life Mr Iyer has made his mark. He is now old in age and older by acute ill health. But his public spirit and solicitude for the country are young and fresh as ever.

It was his masterly intellect that desired that huge scheme of a "National Fund Collection" on Deepavali Days in 1905, a Fund which has since developed into the National Fund and Industrial Association and which has still a great future before it.

May he live long enough, to see the fruit of his labours in the country's cause—is the prayer of Indian patriots.

THE  
NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT CONFERENCE.  
AUGUST 1907

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Presidential Speech by Mr G Subramania Iyer.

GENTLEMEN —If the people of India were a multitude of savages with no general intelligence, with no recollections of an honourable past and no legacies of a great civilisation British rule in India would be a success. But the Indian people are not such savages. In intellectual power they are more than a match to the ruling race. In character they are less remote from human perfection than the people of the western world. They are proud of their ancient history, and cherish with jealousy the priceless treasure of Philosophy and Ethics that they have inherited. Their new contact with the outside world and the influences of modern civilisation have quickened their self consciousness. They feel they do not deserve their present position in the community of nations but are entitled to a much higher and more honourable place capable of an important function in the evolution of humanity. In the earlier ages of human history they opened paths for the advance of wisdom and knowledge to the ends of the world. They fulfilled a great mission and were the chosen instruments of Providence in the illumination of human ignorance and in the elevation of human nature. And now if they were only as free as they were once they feel they would once again discharge a similar mission. How is it possible to rule a people

with such history and such a prospect as Britain rules in India without producing serious evils. The present unrest is a stage in the growth of these evils, which, I am afraid will grow and become more serious if the character of that rule is not changed. Peace and order, law and justice, public works and facilities of communication are the very essence of good Government but these can never be a compensation for the evils of a foreign rule. These are indispensable in the interests of Government as well as of the people, and Government is as much under obligation to the people who pay the taxes as the people are to Government which applies the taxes to these purposes. The end of good Government is not merely to enable the people to live somehow, but to enable them to live well to live a life of contentment and happiness of great purposes and high ideals. In proportion as British rule in India is found to approach this end that rule must be pronounced a failure.

What is the result of a century of British rule in India? Leaving aside what has been done for the maintenance of British supremacy for the increase of revenues and for the efficiency of administration the result from the people's point of view, may be summed up to be desolation and disaster—physical and moral emasculation suffering and discontent. India has accepted foreign rule not without paying a very high price for it. She has mostly lost touch with her ancient civilisation her arts and industries have been killed, her old social system has been shaken, her mental as well as bodily vigour is gone and she is undergoing a process of denationalisation for which such benefits of modern civilisation as she is able to enjoy are hardly a compensation.

In the meanwhile the present reactionary measures of Government are aggravating the prevailing discontent and the consequent unrest. The attitude of Mr. Morley is most significant. It shows that the real background of British policy in India is the interest of England, upheld by her supreme authority. We thought that his appointment as Secretary of State for India ushered the dawn of a new era in the history of this country. We hoped that his liberalism would virtually kill the bureaucracy. On the other hand the bureaucracy has killed his liberalism, and to day he presents the unedifying spectacle of a person who can write and talk like a philosopher but in action is a stern despot. His ideal of Indian Government is despotism qualified by freedom of speech and liberty of the press. But this freedom and this liberty are in their turn limited by the Regulation of 1818 and the Special Ordinances of the Governor General. In his treatment of India he has shown himself to be an Imperialist of the worst type. Of the educated classes, he has adopted the Anglo Indian opinion that they are penniless patriots with no stake in the country that they have nothing to lose but everything to gain by a revolution that they are enemies of England and that if they are entrusted with independent and responsible political power the huge machinery of Indian Government will break to pieces in their hands within a week. That the sun-dried bureaucrat should speak like this we can understand but that a philosopher and statesman should adopt it as his own shows how race bias is apt to dominate the judgment of British statesmen. If this

Britisher, a British patriot first, and an Indian ruler afterwards.

After a century of their rule, enlightened and benevolent our rulers have not the courage to place trust in our loyalty. It is strange that the educated classes should be deemed the most disloyal. It is now almost the universal belief among Englishmen that education breeds disloyalty. If that were a fact then our rulers, to be consistent, should close all Colleges and Schools, and prohibit the establishment of private institutions. Of course they will do no such thing. However much they may tamper with education, it must be if it is worth imparting or receiving such as will improve the understanding. If the understanding is improved it would not tolerate an arbitrary and exclusive alien rule. Then the general ignorance or the actual disloyalty of the whole population becomes the two horns of the dilemma—obviously a most absurd and dangerous situation. But as a fact no such situation need arise. If great Britain will only pursue a wise and honest policy, education will not breed disloyalty or discontent. Even under the present policy, I do not admit that there is disloyalty, though there is general discontent. To represent this discontent as sedition, disaffection, disloyalty and what not is the mischief of the 'man on the spot.' The 'man on the spot' when he is alien, is the most dangerous and the least reliable person—yet a wise man like Mr Morley has surrendered his own judgment before the selfish prejudice of the 'man on the spot.' 'The man on the spot' has been the cause of more international troubles and international wrongs than the responsible rulers. Their species is growing in number and influence in India and is creating tremendous vested

interests. The Anglo Indian planter, the Anglo Indian merchant and the Anglo Indian official—each wielded great influence in the Government of the country. Often they combine to present a powerful opposition to any measure calculated to affect their interests or advance those of the people. Their opinions, their wants and their representations receive more prompt and sympathetic consideration from Government than those of the people. They are becoming powerful in England also. It is retired Anglo Indians that inspire most of the London journals on Indian questions. Though they owe their position knowledge and training to Indians, these are seldom utilised for the good of India. The recent events show what serious mischief they are capable of doing. They misled the Government in India and in England into a serious belief that India was on the eve of another mutiny, this time the originators and leaders of the mutiny being the educated classes. They succeeded in creating a panic to which Lord Minto and Mr. Morley both yielded and which drove them to punitive and repressive measures more worthy of Russia than England. Lord Curzon ruled the country entirely in their interests. A pronounced Imperialist that he was, he had faith only in Englishmen and believed that to be their subordinates was the Indian's lot. Between such a ruler and the people there was not much love lost, and in our quarrels the Anglo Indians took the side of the Viceroy. With the advent of the Liberal party to power was expected a change in the policy of the Government of India and when Mr. John Morley was announced as the Secretary of State for India, the Anglo Indians began to charm him into a Tory. He has proved an extremely susceptible subject. Within twelve months, the philosopher statesman the



admirer of Burke and the disciple of Gladstone has become a stern despot sanctioning without hesitation administrative methods of the worst Russian type. For sometime it appeared that Mr Morley would overcome bureaucracy, but now the bureaucracy has overcome him and has taken him captive. His surrender being complete, the bureaucracy is playing havoc with the people's liberties. The ferocious punishments inflicted by English magistrates on erring Indian editors show the temper of the ruling class.

The great question is what are we to do in the face of such a situation? I for one have lost all faith in the old "mendicant policy". Nothing will be given to us simply as the result of our asking. To yield to public agitation is considered bad to the prestige of the Government and do you think that the Government will grant to us substantial liberties voluntarily of their own record? India is governed and will continue to be governed in the interests of the British plutocracy but it will soon begin to be governed in the interests of the British labouring classes also. These latter now show sympathy with us, but as they come to understand Indian questions more clearly, they would see that the industrial as well as the political freedom of India was hostile to their interests. It may be assumed that Indian questions are better understood in England now than they were some years ago but is there a greater disposition now to do justice to us and deal with us more fairly or generously than was the case formerly? Except the handful of Anglo Indians in Parliament who are our friends, the bulk of the Radical Members and the whole Unionist Party have supported Mr Morley. Mr Gokhale went to England twice and addressed public meetings there and interviewed prominent politicians, including

not like officials. If these Indian members were left to the choice of the people, say of the representative members of the various Legislative Councils, they would be Indian representatives deserving of the name. But that is not going to be. Moreover, the Indian Council as Lord Curzon said, is often ignored by the Secretary of State in the decision of important questions. What good can two Indians do amongst the twelve members constituting the Council—a Council which is ignored in regard to questions of Imperial policy and which, when consulted on purely Indian questions, only misleads the Secretary of State.

Indian members in the Executive Council of the Governor General will be able to do much good. But Mr Morley was significantly silent in his last Budget speech about this reform.

Nor will the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils improve matters if, as Mr Morley announced, the official majority is maintained. Whether the representative members be 10 or 20 will make no difference if their voice can be drowned in that of the official majority. You must know that official members are bound to vote with Government whenever necessary. The proposal of the Congress is that the representative members should be of the same number as the officials, and the president of the Council, the Governor General, should have the power of veto over the decision of the majority, stating in writing his reason for exercising that power.

As regards the advisory Council of notables, I have grave suspicion as to the function it is really designed to fulfil. We have not been informed of the details of this proposal. These when made known may ally

our suspicion. But the fact that it is intended to be used as a medium of good understanding between Government and public, smells mischief. Are we sure that this advisory Board or Council will not be used as a counterblast against the expanded Legislative Councils? What sort of 'notables' will be chosen to constitute it can be safely predicted. Men like the Maharaja of Bobbili, Nawab Sahmulla and H. H. the Aga Khan are sure to be chosen, and does any body imagine that those will ever contradict the Government? They will anticipate or echo official views and their opinions will be used both in England and in India against those of the Congress. Will the Council meet periodically, will there be debates and will their opinions be expressed publicly—these are important points. If the opinions would be obtained privately by means of correspondence without a public debate—the mischief of such a procedure could well be imagined. If the 'notables' were elected by their class and were merged in the Legislative Council, so that their opinions may be controverted on the spot, if necessary, by other Indian members nothing could be said against such an arrangement, though, even then, the value of their opinions will be discounted by the fact of their well known weakness for official approbation.

What made Mr. Morley believe that the 'notables' are the best medium of interpretation between the Government and the people, is a mystery. How can they be supposed to know more of the people of the toiling millions than the classes that now voice forth public opinion in the press, on the platform and in the Councils of Government? Have 'Notables' like the Maharaja of Bobbili, more opportunities of mixing with the people and getting into contact with their mind

and heart? Will the man in the street, the coolie in the market or the ryot at his plough, speak more freely and with greater confidence to them than they will do to the educated men of the middle class whom they recognise amidst themselves, whom they are familiar with, whom they know to be in sympathy with them and to be working for them? Do the class of notables that Mr Morley has probably in view ever take an interest in public affairs more with the people to know their wants and wishes and study public questions? Have they ever worked for the people, shown sympathy with them or upheld their interest against official encroachment? Their ambition is to win official favour and add titles to their names. Can Mr Morley or any official honestly say that in the Councils of Government it is from the nominated notables that the best advice is obtained? When Lord Lorington acknowledged the valuable service rendered by the non official members of his Council, when successive Viceroys and provincial Governors did the same, they did not refer to the notables but to men like Mehta and Gokhale. Their loyalty prevents them—they are not ashamed to give out—from taking part in political movements. But have they taken part in other public movements those for social or industrial or religious reform? Have they done anything to encourage our arts or literature? Do they endow public charities as their ancestors used to do? To court the company and good will of the European official to enjoy the flattery of favourites and to revel in the pleasures of the Zenana—this is their ambition in life. The aristocracy of India were never in her history a hereditary estate of the realm and on the advent of the British they were ignored, and the educated classes were preferred as a medium of touch with the people so far as such touch was

desired. What a contrast between the aristocracy of the West and that of the Indian aristocracy, in modern days? Are the "notables," the aristocracy, the titled men and the title hunting men—are these recognised in other countries as the most reliable exponents of public opinion. Are they so recognised in England? If they were why should the House of Commons be in constant friction with the House of Lords which it wants either to mend or end? Mr Morley would be the last man to regard a Duke or a Lord as the best exponent of the working man's grievances. Why should he do so in regard to India? Surely, he has one conscience for England and another for this country.

The present repressive policy is really not so much an attempt to put down sedition as a campaign against the New Spirit. Swadeshi and boycott have really frightened our rulers whose ignorance and want of sympathy distort the situation in their imagination. It is only under the influence of vague apprehensions that the extreme repressive measures that are now employed are possible. But the new spirit will not be crushed and will in due time fulfil its purpose. The new spirit does not favour a policy on the part of the people of patient submission but has its faith in a policy of passive resistance. Its aim is Swaraj and its instruments are swadeshiism and boycott. I have no doubt that Sir Roper Lethbridge echoed the general sentiment of the British nation when he wrote recently in an English Magazine about the swadeshi movement as follows:—  
 "It is obviously impossible for any patriotic Englishman to assent to the Indian aspirations to the Swadeshi for that would mean the absolute ruin of all British manufactures, starvation throughout Lancashire and the other manufacturing districts of England and Scotland

starvation to our own people we cause temporary injury to others. What injury our effort to improve our material condition may cause to England for a time will not be a fraction of the injury which England inflicted on this country in former times in her own industrial interest. In order to bolster up her nascent industries, England ruined India and has reduced a whole population to indigence and suffering. It was the wealth of India that English adventurers carried to their country in the second half of the eighteenth century which made her inventions and discoveries in the industrial field bear fruit. She built machines and sold them to Europe she accumulated capital and lent them to foreign countries. People talk of India's obligations to England but what about England's obligations to India? It is true that these obligations arise without our being a willing factor in them. But they are obligations all the same. If gratitude is a part of international feeling England is a debtor to India.

In our present circumstances boycott of foreign goods is necessary. Boycott is not different from Swadeshi one necessarily implying the other. You cannot be a Swadeshi without being a boycotter because your preference for indigenous good implies a reverse or dislike for foreign goods. This feeling has indeed no relation to the manufacturers or the articles themselves. The manufacturers may be estimable persons in our opinion and we may appreciate the quality of the articles. But this does not constitute the motive of our action the motive being our desire to protect the industries of our country, our love of the Motherland and our readiness to make sacrifices for it.

The meaning and scope of the boycott movement are misunderstood by some people. It is a weapon

suggested by expediency, it is not a moral or religious injunction. It involves no obligation of consistency or universality. The argument often adduced by the opponents of the boycott movement, namely, if you boycott foreign cloth, consistency requires you must boycott foreign yarn also, and the argument that as you cannot do the latter you need not do the former also has no force. Again it is said if you boycott cloth you must boycott sugar, cutlery and every foreign import which you cannot, and therefore boycott is not a practical movement. Are you prepared, it is asked, to boycott English books, English railways, English medicines, etc. The reply is we are bound to do no such thing. "Boycott foreign goods" is not a moral canon like "Speak the truth." You are bound to speak the truth always apart from any consideration of person or circumstances. But in regard to boycott no such obligation arises. It has a particular object in view, and to the extent that boycott can be employed to compass that object it is a useful and legitimate weapon and should be used by all lovers of the country. We have no indigenous substitute for all imported articles. But for some of these we have and let us now by all that is sacred in our filial duty to our Motherland abstain from the use of these articles. The indigenous substitutes may be a little more costly, may not be equally nice or suitable still for the sake of our starving brethren we should make a sacrifice and put up with discomfort and inconvenience. We will rather go about in rags than appear fashionable in foreign clothes. We will rather use indigenous brown sugar than the foreign refined sugar, we will use brass copper and other metallic vessels made by our artisans rather than the enamelled vessels imported from Europe, we will walk in the streets bare footed and bare headed than

here a voice in Government or are their representations heeded? Are the people of Madras better off in this respect than their brethren of Bengal? Let Cocinadr and Rajamundry answer. If constitutional agitation is fruitless, if the liberty of criticism is sedition, what help have we against repression and tyranny? Resentment, retaliation—whatever you may call it—is a provision of nature, is a factor in moral economy. Rishis and Sadhus may proscribe it, but in the affairs of ordinary mortals it has its own value. A man that cannot or will not resent, retaliate will fare very badly indeed in this wicked world. So a nation that submits with resignation to tyranny or wrong or resorts to no effective means of resistance, will have an exceedingly bad lot! We can only resort to passive resistance of aloofness from an unsympathetic despotical Government. Not only are we treated like slaves in our own country, worse than slavery is the lot of our countrymen in British Colonies. For the barbarous and malicious treatment they receive in Natal and the Transvaal we hold our rulers responsible. They care more for the nominal attachment of the Colonies to the Mother country than for the good will and contentment of the Indian people whose cruel persecution by a handful of white men they therefore tolerate. Yet all the Colonies put together are not worth to England a single province of India. At the same time they allow to the Colonists all the rights and privileges of Englishmen in India. They enter our Civil and Military service they enjoy every facility for trade and industry, they lord it over the Indian people, and are as exclusive and arrogant as the Anglo Indians are as a class. How can we show any sincere sympathy with such a Government? We should decline all titles and honours offered by Government and all



honorary offices too. The agitation of the vine-growers of France resulted in the resignation of a large number of Municipalities, and the police ill treatment of the Headmaster of the Municipal School at Pandarpur similarly led to the resignation of all the non-official members of the Municipality. If the Indian members of the Cocanada Municipality had done so when, in spite of their hurried and undignified protestation of innocence Sir Arthur Lawley sanctioned the establishment of punitive police amidst them, they would have afforded substantial proof of their disapprobation and resentment of the insult offered to them. Instead of doing so, the loyal citizens of Cocanada held a belated public meeting to protest 'most humbly and respectfully' and indulged in jejune murmurs. What good did it bring? They merely made themselves contemptible in the minds of the Anglo-Indians. It is true that if one resigns an honorary office another will be ready to take it up. Let him. He will be a marked man and public opinion will mark him as a renegade. More honourable and self-respecting men will keep aloof and their procedure will be an example to others. Nor does an attitude of this kind on the part of the people imply hatred of British rule or disaffection or disloyalty. It only means disapprobation in a form most effective under present circumstances. When we get Swaraj or something very near it boycott—as a political weapon will cease. There is yet another kind of boycott which we should resort to, to strengthen our endeavours at national advancement. I mean social boycott by which society will keep aloof from those renegades, the bearers, sycophants, corrupt officials, Government spies and the rest of that contemptible species. When any one of our countrymen is found to behave in a manner detrimental to our

national interest, he should be boycotted. None in the world know better than the Hindus how to wield the weapon of social ostracism.

Gentlemen, you know that Americans were subjected to the same treatment while they were dependent on England and it was to the Swadeshi and Boycott movement that they resorted to put an end to their troubles. We are indebted to Mr Myron H Phelps, B.A., LL.B., of the New York Bar for the full and instructive account he gives of this movement in his country in a letter addressed to his "Dear Brothers," the people of India, and published in the *Hindu* of July 29th. It deserves to be read carefully by every Indian who has been impressed by the present situation. Just as our numerous and flourishing textile industries have been destroyed for the benefit of Manchester manufacturers by the free importation of Manchester goods, precisely so, America had suffered industrial repression at the hands of England. Besides compelling the Colonists to sell their produce exclusively in British markets, they were obliged to buy such foreign articles as they were in need of entirely from the merchants and manufacturers of England. They were discouraged from manufacturing such articles as could be provided for them in the Mother country. Lord Chatham declared in his place in Parliament "that the British Colonists of North America had no right to manufacture even a nail or a horse shoe." Another British statesman said "The only use of American Colony or of West India Islands is the monopoly of their consumption and the carriage of their products. To manufacture like England was esteemed a sort of forgery, punishable like an imitation of British coin. A close watch was therefore kept on industry in the Colonies,

governors were instructed to discourage all manufactures, and where manufactures were once started in the Colonies, they were rigorously repressed. In addition to these enactments in restraint of commerce and trade, Parliament levied taxes upon the American Colonies, both customs and internal taxes, such as stamp dues. These were resisted on the ground that taxes ought only to be levied by a Governing body in which the people taxed had representatives. 'No taxation without representation' became a political war-cry.

Such was in brief the nature of the grievances of the American Colonies against England and the manner in which they fought their grievances. Mr Phelps tells us, was by the refusal to buy English goods that is precisely by an American Swedish movement. Agreements were drawn up and presented for signature to all the principal citizens of the different Colonies, by which the signers agreed 'not to import, purchase or make use of certain articles produced or manufactured out of North America such as teas, wines and liquors, all superfluities and in general all foreign manufactures. All over the country Committees of inspection were appointed consisting of diligent and discreet persons whose business was to make critical inspection and the conduct of all buyers and sellers of goods and to publish the names of all these who failed to adhere to the non importation agreements with a view that such persons might be exposed to the odium and resentment of the people. These Committees also recommended that all persons of means enter into subscriptions for setting up and carrying on the making of nails, stock weaving and other useful branches of manufacture and every one in his respective sphere of

action to encourage and promote industry and frugality. Any person found to have violated his agreement not to deal in imported goods had his name posted in hand bills through the town and published in the local papers : proceeding Mr Phelps adds usually followed by insults it leapt from the boys and the populace. About forty articles were enumerated in the pledge not to import purchase or use if produced or manufactured out of North America. Mr Phelps gives two instances of individuals who having violated the agreement were publicly denounced and boycotted in the manner above indicated. In these cases the committee ordered that no trade commerce dealing or intercourse whatever be carried on with him but that he ought to be held unworthy of the rights of free men and inimical to the liberties of his country. ' So you see my friends ' concludes this noble friend of India that Swadeshi was an American before it was an Indian institution. It was successful in America in forcing to repeal the obnoxious British legislation but its greatest value was in arousing the sense of patriotism and co operation among the people. Thus Swadeshi in America included economic political and social boycott.

At the last session of the Congress at Calcutta a resolution was adopted recommending the inauguration of a national system of education. What is a national system of education? As I understand it it should be a system of education which while giving useful and efficient training in all practical pursuits of life will prevent us from being de nationalised will keep us in touch in spirit as well as in form with our ancient civilisation and national characteristics and will make us a patriotic and self respecting nation. It will enable us to assimilate all that is useful to progress in these days in Western

civilisation and at the same time preserve our distinct nationality. Under such a system of education as I conceive it more attention will be paid in schools and colleges to Western science than to Western literature, more attention to our own past history, to our religious and secular literature, to our national habits than to those of other countries. It will be in complete sympathy with and a faithful reflection of the inner spirit of the people their thoughts and aspirations. It will respect, revive and cultivate our arts and industries, our literature, our music, our sports and pastimes. It will inculcate habits of simplicity, gentleness, reverence and charity. It will inspire the minds of our youth with reverence for our ancient and immortal sages and for their teachings. It will expound the divinity of our mother and the hallowed land of Kishin and Munin, the first preceptors of mankind and instil a feeling of the profoundest reverence for her person and name and with child gratitude for her unparellel suffering and sacrifice for her multitudinous children and for the tenderness with which she has nursed them on her vast bosom during centuries of trouble and turmoil. Such is national education as I understand it. It is impossible that we can receive such education from foreigners. In their hands it has made us a nation of quill drivers and coolies. Our educated classes have added neither to the wealth of the country nor to the moral strength of the nation. We have reason to feel ashamed of some of our educated countrymen in official service. They are corrupt, cowardly and unfaithful to the mother that gave them birth. They have sold their soul for a mess of pottage. They deliberately injure their country and bring trouble to their brothers simply that they may be in the good graces of their

official superiors Of many of our friends of the legal profession we have no reason to be proud They are as bad as officials To perpetuate such a state is the inner meaning of the policy of the present system of education and with that view, education is being brought more and more tightly under European direction

It is impossible that National Schools and Colleges can be started throughout the country all at once The first thing that should be done is that the managers of aided Colleges and Schools as well as those unaided should employ as professors and teachers none but Indians who should be imbued with a full sense of their serious responsibility as builders of the nation's future and who should be men of high character lofty principles and true patriotism In many parts of India there are successful Colleges of which the teaching staff including the principal is entirely Indian In Calcutta there are several such Colleges of one of which our esteemed country man Bibu Surendranath Binnerjee is the principal There is the Anglo Vedic College at Lahore maintained by the Arya Samaj and entirely under the management of Indians I need not mention the Fergusson College of Poona of which the professorial staff included until recently that staunch patriot Mr G K Gokhale In our own part of the country, the first grade college at Vizianagaram owns an Indian graduate as the principal and of second grade colleges several are conducted by Indian graduates as principals While such is the case there is an inexplicable reluctance on the part of the managers of some aided colleges of which the principals have been till now Englishmen to appoint Indians in their place when opportunity occurs So far as I can see the objection to Indian principals does not come from students, who are quite willing to receive education from their own

countrymen, but it comes from the managers themselves, who believe, quite erroneously, that under Indian Principalship the College will suffer in efficiency, in the face of the fact that every experiment in the contrary direction has proved a success. Often the inefficiency of the college is due to the inefficiency of the committee of management and the defective equipment of the college itself. In Calcutta, Lahore and Poona, the purely Indian colleges have stood with credit, competition with Government and Missionary colleges, and where such competition does not exist, the Indian colleges ought to succeed more easily. It cannot be contended that no competent Indians can be had to be at the head of a college second grade or first grade because no attempt has been made to get one. If the managers advertise widely their intention to engage the service of an Indian graduate a competent person will be forthcoming, I am sure either in this presidency or in other parts of India. In other parts of India there are Indians who have graduated in British universities and who will gladly take up the place in question if an appeal is made to their patriotism and if fair terms are offered to them. Our countrymen administer independent native states as ministers and administer British districts as collectors. They are heads of departments and dispose of important and large interests. To say that no competent Indian can be had to manage a college only betrays want of courage and patriotism. As for enforcing discipline we all remember the names of the late Gopala Row and Rangaradhia Mudaliyar, and certainly there are other Indians who will realise the standard of these well known educationists if opportunities were given to them.

o! The next thing that should be done is to establish one good and well equipped first grade college in some

suitable centre in each province after the model of the Central Hindu College at Benares, with this difference that the national colleges should be opened to all Indians without any distinction of caste or creed. I don't think we should fritter our resources in trying to establish different National Colleges in different districts.

As important as Colleges are primary schools and schools for industrial instruction and training. There is a proposal to make Primary education free. But it should be made compulsory also. There is a danger in making Primary Education free. It will be brought more completely than ever under official control. Even at present when Government give small grants in aid to private institutions it claims direct control which has not always a salutary effect. Official influence and the influence of Christian Missionary bodies are making education in national and unsuited to the requirements of the people. The education of our children should be entirely in our hands, it must be moulded, directed and inspired by the leading men of the nation imbued with reverence for the past and perception of the future and genuine and warm love of the Mother. Primary education, including the technical branch should be placed under the management of local committees consisting of the leading men of the place who should fix the curriculum of studies, appoint teachers and administer the finance. Government will preserve its touch with primary education by the local educational officer being an ex officio member of the committee. Government will place what fund it can spare for the purpose, and if necessary a small educational cess can be levied to supplement Government aid. The great advantage of thus localising the



direction of Primary education is that it will make it harmonise with local sentiments and local wants. It will enlist the true sympathy and interest of the people and will spontaneously spread itself over the country. Primary education does not spread at present, because it is out of touch with popular sentiment and requirements being entirely under foreign direction. Governments should have nothing to do with this branch of education beyond supplying the funds and inspecting the schools periodically with a view to obtaining information and tendering advice.

"Has the Swadeshi movement succeeded?" is the question asked by many a sceptic mind. Persons in a hurry to arrive at conclusions are doubtful about it and others in whose case the wish is father to the thought, assert that it is a failure and will never succeed. But the facts are against both. It must be remembered that the movement is hardly two years old and is now in its initial stage. Yet wherever it has been earnestly pursued it has been followed by successful results. From Bengal a most gratifying testimony comes of its undoubted success. Our esteemed countryman Bibu Smendranath Binnerjee said in a recent speech, 'Boycott is the negative and Swadeshi is the positive aspect of the same question. They are indivisible parts of the same common whole and I for my part am not prepared to separate them. Triumphs of swadeshi are writ large in our history. Home articles are steadily making their way. Foreign articles are being steadily displaced. The status of the weaver has greatly improved. The whole atmosphere is surcharged with industrial spirit. Craving for service is fast disappearing. Passion for the study of science is steadily on the increase. Altogether

the situation is most hopeful. Making allowance for the well known optimistic spirit of this veteran servant of the nation no one can deny that the observations are on the whole well-founded. A less biased testimony comes from an Anglo Indian quarter. Writing on the first annual report of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the *Empire* newspaper says 'We are told that the Swadeshi movement was responsible for a diminution of 68 4 per cent. in the imports of salt from the United Kingdom. The growing competition of imported liquor with country spirit received a severe check from the Swadeshi movement when pressure was put on licensed vendors to close their shops. The report goes on to express the opinion that this check is not likely to be more than temporary, and this opinion is (according to the *Empire*) probably the correct one. At the same time these figures bear out the reports on the trade both of Calcutta and Chittagong which show a falling off in the imports of English goods during the year following the partition of Bengal, and taken in conjunction with these, they indicate the beginning of a tendency, which if it continues, will exercise a profounder influence upon the British position in India than all the seditious newspapers and agitators put together. It must be remembered that the boycott started two years ago was a more or less hasty device. It was adopted under the influence of the anger excited by the partition of Bengal. It was not carefully thought out and yet has made a notable impression on the trade statistics of the year. We can only conclude that if the propaganda of the boycott is ever organised upon business lines it will raise problems which may defy the highest statesmanship to solve. I don't know what boycott on business lines means. But no national movement began with careful

calculations, and boycott was suddenly and at a bound as it were embraced by the nation without reasoning or calculation. The popular mind had for sometime been in a ferment, stirred to serious thoughts of the country's needs and conditions, and filled with the earnest aspiration to lift her out of the depth of degradation under which she lay rotting. At such a time the idea of boycott was started, and the national mind caught at it involuntarily and with eagerness. The Registrar of the joint stock companies of Bombay records, as we recently learnt from the newspapers that of the new companies, 25 belonged to trading mostly trading in Indian made articles. Of the rest to be noted are 2 printing presses, 7 spinning and weaving mills, 3 presses 1 for growing cotton and other fibres 4 Banking, 1 Insurance and 2 for Navigation with a nominal capital of 57,008 200 rupees (or nearly 6 crores.) This is a most gratifying record. Our own Presidency has not altogether lagged behind. Of the various Swadeshi efforts big and small I need mention only two the Indian Bank of Madras and the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Co of Tuticorin. From what I have seen and learnt of the people's feeling at the present moment I have no doubt that the movement is rapidly spreading and will produce wider and more substantial results as years roll on. Swadeshi and boycott is our sole means of salvation. We will stick to it and no official persecution will drive us out of our path.

England is proud that she rules India in a manner so benevolent so liberal and so generous that no other example of such liberality etc. could be found in the world. While acknowledging some valuable benefits that British Rule has conferred upon India, we Indians demur to the hyperbolic estimate which some British

men Lord Curzon notably among others are wont to form of their own rule and achievements in India. There is no reason to believe that the Frenchmen or the Russians or the Dutchmen would not have done as well as or even better than Englishmen as rulers of India. Certainly if America would rule India with the same spirit in which she is ruling some of her Island possessions India would be more happy materially and would enjoy a higher political status. When the United States took possession of the Philippine Islands they did so in a truly noble spirit and prompted by highly philanthropic motives.

It was not assumed that the people of the Philippine Islands were an inferior race and therefore incapable of self government. In urging the recognition of the South American Republics, in 1822 Henry Clay declared "But it is sometimes said that they are too ignorant to admit of the existence of free Government. I contend that it is to arraign the disposition of the Almighty to suppose that he has created beings incapable of governing themselves. Self government is the natural government of men. And Mr Lincoln said "No man is good enough to govern another without the other's consent. I say this is the leading principle the sheet anchor of American Republicanism. and John Hay once said speaking of Self government "No people are fit for anything else."

And in words that are directly applicable to the present crisis, Mr Lincoln said "These arguments that are made that the inferior races are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow, what are those arguments? They

are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world, you will find that all the arguments in favour of kinglycraft were of this class. They always bestrode the necks of the people not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better for being so ridden. That is their argument. It is the same old serpent that says 'you work and I eat, you cook and I will enjoy the fruits of it. Turn in whatever way you will, whether it come from the mouth of the king an excuse for enslaving the people of his country or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race it is all the same old serpent.

The instructions of President William McKinley contained the following —

'In all the forms of Government and administrative provisions which they are authorised to prescribe the Commission should bear in mind that the Government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs their habits and even their prejudices to the fullest extent consistent with their accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective Government. This was not all President McKinley himself on another occasion said. — The Philippines are ours, not to exploit but to develop to civilise to educate to train in the science of Self government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us.

Finally we Indians have great faith in the moral evolution of the world and of the great principles of

justice, recompense and redemption, governing the destinies of human communities. No people on earth can be doomed to eternal degradation and the Indians, once the favoured race of the Gods, will yet achieve their regeneration, will be once again the same honoured, beneficent race in the world that they were in times of yore. Human communities can no longer be divided as superior and inferior races as the master and the slave races, as the races exploiting and the races exploited. They are rapidly coalescing into a human family of which the members possess equal rights and are bound by mutual obligations. To revivify the mind of Asia, to set it working again along new lines of rich productivity, to help it to achieve ment of moral and material well being, might be Europe's gift to it. And for this gift Europe might have its full equivalent. The contemplative mind of Asia gave to sluggish Europe in past ages the great momentum in religion and philosophy and in science and arts. Even in its sleep or what appears to Europe the sleep of many centuries as Mr. Hobson says Asia may have had its noble and illuminative dreams. The persons of the West may yet need the insight of the East. A union so profitable in the past may not be barren in the future.

I now come to the question of Swaraj. Is it only a noontide dream or is it a practical object of our national ambition? There are people who believe that India is unfit for Home Rule or Swaraj because its people are not homogeneous and with its variety of castes and creeds and languages Home Rule would be impossible. There may indeed be some difficulty in the beginning. But Englishmen who cry, 'The Duma is dead. Long live the Duma' are not the men to insist

on initial difficulties. Surely, to say the very least India is as homogeneous as the Russian Empire and has, in every way, a unity, the like of which has no existence anywhere in that Empire. Who are they that say that the people of India are not fit for Swaraj? The English people say so those who profit by India's subjection say so. But it is an old cry. It was raised against the middle class in England, it was raised against the mechanics of the great towns, it was raised against the country rustics, it is now being raised against women, and in every case it was raised and is raised by the people in possession who did not and do not want to lose their power. Foreign observers with a sufficient insight into the social conditions of the country do not think that our variety of castes and creeds is an obstacle to the growth of nationality.

What are the conditions which are favourable to the growth of a nationality? There can be no greater authority than Mill. He says in his *Representative Government* 'A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do exist among them and not any others—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people desire to be under the same Government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by several causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language and community of religion generally contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents the possession of a history and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliation pleasure

and regret connected with the same incidents in the past. None of these circumstances however are either indispensable or necessarily sufficient by themselves'. But it will be seen that none of these causes are absent, although they exist in a more or less weak state. The Indian people of whom the great bulk are Hindus are bound together by identity of race and descent, they have a community of language in Sanskrit and English, community of religion in the Vedas and Shastras and in their Puranas and their mythology, in a common literature, common traditions and common domestic and personal habits. That we have identity of political antecedents, a national history and community of recollections nobody will deny. But the strongest of the ties that hold and have held the Indian people together are their geographical position and their religion. As regards the former, Indians may be said to resemble Italy. 'Among Italians to quote Mill again "an identity far from complete of language and literature combined with a geographical position which separates them by a distinct line from other countries, and perhaps more than every thing else the possession of a common name which makes them all glory in the past achievements in arts, arms, politics, religions, science and literature of any who share the same designation give rise to an amount of national feeling in the population which though still imperfect, has been sufficient to produce the great events now passing before us notwithstanding a great mixture of races, and although they have never in either ancient or modern history been under the same Government, except while that Government extended or was extending itself over the greater part of the known world. This Description almost wholly applies to India. India is separated from the rest of the world by huge natural



barriers, by lofty mountains and wide seas, and forms a distinct continent by itself. It has accordingly developed common antecedents in history and traditions. And then India and the Hindu religion are synonymous. There is no Hinduism outside India, and no India outside Hinduism. These two are the strongest and the most enduring foundation, the rockbed of Indian patriotism and nationality. There is no section of the Hindu people who would not make heavy sacrifice for the gratification of being under the same political constitution which embraces within its cognation India's sacred rivers, her holy shrines and places of pilgrimage, the birthplace of the Vedas and Smritis, the scenes of the Mahabharata, of Buddha's emancipation, the forts and rocks on which Asoka carved his immortal edicts, the royal court of King Bhoja where the nine literary gems shed their lustre, the ruined site of Delhi—the Rome of India—the Taj Mahal and the numerous ancient cities associated with countless recollections of achievements in religious reform in philosophy, heroism, poetry and art. The present condition of the Indian people fully satisfies Mill's definition of Nationality. Indians are a portion of mankind united among themselves by common sympathies which do exist between them and not any others—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same Government and desire that it should be Government by themselves or a portion of themselves, exclusively.

If British Rule in India has made our people poorer than they were before and if it has caused physical and moral emasculation, it has also created forces that make for a greater solidarity of our nation. For centuries together, in mediæval times the Hindu nation

spread over the immense area of the continent without easy means of communication, ruled by numerous rulers more or less independent, was divided into isolated communities without a living, cementing force to weld them into an organic whole. There were, indeed, then as there are now the gems of nationality, a common faith, a common literature, common traditions, and a common Motherland. But of these the people had but a vague and dim consciousness.

It would be of course wrong to say, as Anglo-Indians say, that the Indian communities were as divided as the European nations were in the middle ages. There was always the common religious faith that bound together in mutual sympathy the more intelligent and active elements of the people in different parts of the country, and then during the centuries when it was distracted by political convulsions diplomatic communications open and secret, were constantly kept up between rulers ruling in distant parts. India is prominently the land of holy cities and Benares in the North of India and Rameswaram in the South Jagannath in the East and Gurnar in the West, as holy cities in the four corners of the continent preserved a constant stream of pilgrims who traversed the country in large numbers and disseminated common ideas and spread common sympathies. Nay more. Is it not said that the religious mendicants were the cause of scattering seeds of disaffection against British Rule throughout Northern and Central India on the eve of the mutiny? It is not true therefore to say that prior to the establishment of British Rule the Indian people lived in communities—utterly isolated and estranged from each other. To a certain extent circulation of common influences that tended to there was a constant permeate the

germs of a common sentiment of nationality. But the operation of these influences was confined mostly to the surface of society, it did not touch the strata at the bottom, as it is possible for the modern civilisation to do along numerous and far reaching channels. The inestimable gift of a common medium of communication, the medium of the English language, we owe to British Rule and to the same British Rule we owe the equally inestimable boon of a rapid and cheap means of intercourse. And then there is the Press which conducted in English as well as in the vernacular language is rapidly becoming a powerful instrument of progress and is constantly widening its sphere of influence. Add to these the common Government whose laws all of us loyally obey. These numerous forces are rapidly effecting the old condition of isolation and binding in one common tie of fellowship even the lower strata of the different communities, of the Hindustanis and the Dravidians, the Bengalis and the Maharattis. Every day a hundred causes arise to strengthen and diffuse the cementing effect of every one of the forces at work over broad areas. The larger and smaller forces act and react on one another.

The uniting force of common Government brought the Indian National Congress into existence. It set in circulation a broad current of common feeling throughout the length and breadth of India. Though the direct influence of the Congress is confined to the upper and more intelligent classes still while the English section of the Indian Press keeps in evidence the new sentiment of nationality and stimulates the common sympathies it has created among these classes, the Vernacular Press carries the fertilising matter to the obscurest village along numerous auxiliary streams.

branching off from the mother river, by means of a thousand branch rivers and channels like the arteries of the living frame

British statesmen are not therefore right in thinking that British Rule in India must be for ever practically an absolute despotism. Such predictions about a nation's future are, as a rule, unsafe, especially in regard to a people like the Indians who have more than once in their long and chequered history shown themselves capable of self assertion. In more than one instance the apparently dry bones in the valley have become instinct with life and the fresh born vitality has sufficed to emancipate the country from exotic and congenial incumbrances. Under the British there is a greater probability of this revolution occurring than there was in any other period of Indian history in the past. Already the writing on the wall is visible, and British statesmen are opening their eyes and trying to read the signs aright.

The historian Seeley says that revolutions are not caused by populations which had sunk deeper than certain depths. Great populations are seen covering in abject misery for centuries together, he says, but they do not rise in rebellion, no, if they cannot live they die, and if they can only just live, then they just live, their sensibilities dulled and their very wishes crushed out by want. Fortunately, though the condition of the Indian people is miserable enough on the whole, they have not sunk so low as the populations described above. There is vitality in them which can be blown into living fire by favourable conditions and which enables them to look up to hope, and to feel its strength. If India does begin, on the other hand, to

breathes as a single national whole. Seeley says—'in our own rule is perhaps doing more than ever was done by former Governments to make this possible—the moment that another mutiny is but threatened which shall be no more mutiny but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end—as all desire ought to be at an end of preserving our Empire. But will there be another mutiny like that of 1857? It is to be regretted that a historian like Seeley should contemplate only two alternatives as the culmination of British rule in India—a covering squalid and lifeless multitude, or a people roused to a sense of common nationality and goaded to rebellion against its connection with England. Is a peaceful and mutually profitable solution not possible? *England would be nothing apart from her Indian connection and India cannot fulfil her destiny without England's help.* The relation between the two countries should cease to be that of the ruler and the ruled the exploiter and the exploited must be transformed into one friendly union based on the mutual advantages of commercial intercourse. In the accomplishment of such a consummation every friction every obstacle and every hostile factor should be gradually removed until the Indian nation develops its own state which will be the organ of its will and spirit and the instrument of its honour and good name. The guarantees for such an honourable and glorious future lie in the highest laws governing the moral evolution of the human race in the birthright of nations to equality and freedom like that of individuals and in the fulfilment of the national as of the individual Karma. Our nation builders should not attach much importance to the promises and pledges of the British nation nor to its sense of justice and generosity for

we see this can be easily set aside or explained away England having one conscience for herself and for her people and another for us Indians. We take our stand on our right as a civilised people—people who once discharged a momentous mission in human civilisations and still pursue their evolution in future years without break in its continuity. Our consciousness of our past enables us to develop our own ideal. Other nations had other ideals in the past and the Western nations of the present day pursue ideals of their own. The Egyptian and the Chaldean to quote an American writer, Mr Gedding created the ideals of pleasure loving men. China Russia, and Judaea of self denying and austere men, India, of the rationally conscientious men,—who in Hindustan is contemplative and passionate in Japan sensitive in Greece appreciative of every form of truth and beauty in Rome constructive and in the West scientific—in England individualised farther in France socialised in America, where West again becomes East universalised Egypt and Babylon created the national ideals of power and splendour Iran and Judaea of ceremonial righteousness Greece created the ideal of citizenship Rome the ideal of justice England has created the ideal of civil liberty France the ideal of social equality America is slowly but surely creating the ideal of a broad and perfect agency in which liberty and equality shall for all time be reconciled and combined. But the ideal that India will build will be one comprehending and transcending all these the ideal of universal peace and contentment of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God of the subordination of matter to the spirit of spiritual happiness as the only sure and enduring happiness.



PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIA

# Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

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Next to Bihu Surendranath Banerjee the most persuasive speaker from the Congress platform is the Hon ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahabad. He has been long a familiar figure among our public men and by his disinterested work has won for himself a unique name in Upper India. He was born in the year 1862 and is one of the few Indians who distinguished themselves at a comparatively young age by their sobriety of thought and expression, no less than by the conscientious study of public questions. Mr Malaviya is a self made man. He took his degree in 1881 and soon after took up an appointment in the local school where he had received his own education. After three years about as a schoolmaster he tried his hand at journalism. Rija Rimpal Singh, once a familiar figure in Congress circles offered him the editorship of the *Hindusthan* in 1887. He edited the journal for 2½ years with conspicuous ability. In 1889 he gave up journalism and began the study of law, the Rija promising him financial help. He passed the pleadership examination of the Allahabad University in 1892. He is practising ever since in Allahabad.

Pandit Madan Mohan has always been taking a keen interest in all movements that concern the material and moral well being of the people. Ever since he joined the Congress movement, he has been attending almost all Congresses and his speeches have



always been marked with much eloquence and force. He has made a deep study of the economic condition of the people and is, therefore, one of the most formidable critics of Government. He was one of the founders of the Hindu Samaj of Allahabad, which was started in 1880 with the view of ameliorating the social condition of the people drawing closer together the different castes and creeds, promoting education, reforming social abuses and making also representations to the Government on political matters. He was appointed Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Congress when District and Provincial Committees were formed years ago to keep the Congress in touch with the people.

Mr. Malaviya's activities have not been confined simply to the field of politics and social reform, though in regard to the latter he does not hold advanced views. His activity in the field of religious reform are no less valuable. He was actively engaged a few years ago in the formation of a great national University in Benares. The scheme is not yet a success but the attempt that he has made in this direction indicates the view he holds about the lines on which alone we should work to secure our national regeneration.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been a Swadeshi long before Swadeshim was born in India. He has always been using country made clothes and in his own way helping the Swadeshi movement. Last year at Surat he delivered a speech on Swadeshim.

### III

in which he clearly pointed out that the material salvation of the country rested very greatly upon the growth of the Swadeshi movement

Pandit Madan Mohan has for some years past been a member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces and his services to the people in the council as their non-official representative have been highly valuable

Bold and yet unassuming, Pandit Madan Mohan has throughout been a good type of a non official critic of the Government and no wonder that he has always been commanding the respect of both the authorities and the people

While imbibing all that is good in western culture and civilisation Pandit Madan Mohan remains a fine type of a true Hindu

Simple in habits, pure in private and public life with a great deal of zeal and earnestness and self sacrifice for the welfare of his countrymen sober and yet stern and dignified in his criticisms and utterances upon public questions not grudging to rebuke his own countrymen when he thinks it necessary, Pandit Madan Mohan has earned quite a unique place for himself among those who could truly be called builders of the Indian Nation

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## THE UNIVERSITIES BILL.

Pundit Madan Mohun Malavya (Allahabad), said —

MR PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN —

I rise to support the resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded by other speakers. The resolution is one which I need hardly say is of great and lasting importance, and we cannot be blamed if we try to discuss it at some length at this meeting. Gentlemen, the one thing that we have to consider in connection with this question of University reform is, what was it that led to the enquiry being instituted? What was the state of things with which fault was found? What was the state of things which it was sought to remedy? And then, consider what the remedies are which have been suggested and what the remedies are which the Government now propose to apply. Gentlemen, we must all ask ourselves and ask the Government what the faults of the Senates and the Syndicates of the existing Universities were which led the Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into the state of University Education. You will wade through all the literature connected with the Universities of this country in vain to find that during the past many years there never have been serious complaints made regarding the constitution either of the Syndicates or the Senates except in some trifling particulars or on some occasions. Speaking generally, you will find that the Syndicates and the Senates have done their work very satisfactorily (*Hear, hear*). Now, gentlemen, when the Government of Lord Curzon appointed a Commission, there was no doubt complaint

was made by him that the results of University Education were not altogether satisfactory, were not as satisfactory as they ought to be. Gentlemen in the same breath every speaker who has discussed this question of the unsatisfactory character of the results of University Education, every responsible speaker has admitted that the Universities have produced men eminent for learning men who have distinguished themselves in the various walks of life into which they entered, men who have upheld the honour and intellect of the country and men who have served the Government with honour and credit. If there were some unfortunate young men who did not succeed in getting just the number of marks necessary to enable them to pass that does not justify their being condemned as unworthy and dishonourable men who ought to be shunned like moral lepers. The line between a passed candidate and a failed B A as has been called is a very short line and if a candidate has not succeeded certainly we may be more charitable than we are and not condemn him as altogether an unworthy and undesirable person whose existence ought to be provided against by the legislature taking up the task of introducing a new enactment.

Then the other complaint was that the University Education imparted in this Country was not as high as it ought to be. On this point I think Anglo Indian officials, European scholars and natives of this country were all agreed. I do not think that there is a single man who has said that the education imparted in our Universities is as high as it ought to be. On the contrary, we poor natives of India have been crying hoarse with the prayer that the Government should make provision for the highest teaching being imparted

in the different branches of study, which ought to find a place in a University. So far as this complaint is concerned, I will deal with it further later on.

But I want to point out that, so far as this Bill goes, it deals with both these questions. It enters at great length into the question of the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. It confers a variety of powers on the Syndicates, it transfers a great deal of the power of control to Government and it makes also a small provision to enable the Universities to appoint professors and teachers. Now, gentlemen, you are all aware that the Bill is taken up in a great measure with questions concerning the constitution of the Syndicate and the Senate and the vast powers conferred upon the former. Let us examine these provisions briefly and let us then see whether there is no justification for the united opposition which all educated Indians have been offering to this Universities Bill. Gentlemen I am anxious that the matter should be considered with as little prejudice and bias as His Excellency the Viceroy desires it should be. Let us take the provision regarding the constitution of the Senate. We in the United Provinces have got a Universities Act. The Allahabad Universities Act has never been said to be a faulty Act. Its provisions are liberal to a large extent as compared with the provisions of this Bill. There were no complaints made and no complaints also in Bombay as we have heard from various speakers. We then introduce a Bill which will make a clean sweep of these Acts which have worked well, and which have given no room for complaint. Why deal with the whole country as if it were one Province? In the Allahabad University the

provision regarding the constitution of the Senate is this. There are certain Fellows who are appointed *ex officio*, the remaining Fellows appointed half by Government and half by the Senate by election. Now, gentlemen, if in 1887 the Government saw the wisdom of permitting members of the Senate to elect half the Fellows of the Senate, where is there any reason shown or suggested for now depriving them of the right of electing Fellows to the Senate? I thought, gentlemen, that the system of nomination had long ago been found to be faulty and buried in England. The Government have also in this country during the last fifteen years shown that they do not believe entirely in the system of nomination. In the matter of Municipal Boards the principle of election has been introduced, in the matter of District Boards the elective principle is working. In the matter of Legislative Councils only a few years ago the Government admitted the reasonableness of the demand for introducing the elective principle. Now the Senates, which were the first body in this country in which the principle of election was first introduced and worked are going to be deprived of their power in the beginning of the twentieth century. You cannot help feeling that the hand of the clock is being put back forcibly. Gentlemen, this is the state of things so far as the Senates are concerned. What is it that is going to be done? Nominations are going to be made largely by Government to the Senates. Gentlemen, I have the greatest respect for gentlemen who constitute the Government individually but when you come to consider them in their capacity as representing the various departments of Government, then you cannot speak of them with the same confidence and the same esteem not because they have not the desire to do the best

thing in the best way, but because they are not brought into touch with the great majority of those from whom they should make the selection and of whose ability and willingness to co-operate in this great work they should obtain first hand personal knowledge. Therefore I do apprehend that, in making the appointments, the Government will largely be guided by the recommendations of the Director of Public Instruction and also by the recommendations or selections of the Secretary who may be in power at the time. None of these methods, I need hardly say, can bring to the Senate hall the men of ability and capacity expected to advise the Government and the public in matters of education that would come in through the channel of election. What then can be the justification for this retrograde step? Has it been proved is it alleged that the Fellows appointed in Madras Calcutta, Bombay or Allahabad have been men who ought not to have been appointed. Has it been proved that they were not just the men who, in the great majority of instances, would have been picked up if proper selection had been made, men who have knowledge of the people and of the requirements of the Province. Why then put in this provision which militates against the principle upon which all other assemblies constituted by Government are worked?

Now, Gentlemen, so much for election. Let us now consider what is the position of the Senate. Here while I am dwelling upon this aspect of the question, let me say that it is stated that now the power to return Fellows will be legalised. Very thankful for this kindness, but we would much rather that the power were not legalised. There are many unwritten laws in England which have led to great prosperity and have

conducted to the benefit of the people. We are not so much in love with statutory provisions. What we want is the substance and not the name. If without any legal provision the power, which the Government recognised reasonableness of, of election conferred upon the members of the Senate and graduates to return Fellows, has been well exercised the Government ought to allow it to be exercised in future. Now, Gentlemen, comes the question of permitting graduates to elect. They are to elect seven in the province from which I come, seven in the province of the Punjab. Now, Gentlemen at present half the number of Fellows is elected by the Senate. Why should graduates be not given the opportunity of exercising the privilege of returning such of their fellowmen as they know to be able and competent to manage the business of the University. You have given the privilege of returning Members of Council to Municipal Boards and District Boards who in turn, have been returned by people who have got no education and whose income is very small. And you will deny to the products of your University—of whom you ought to be proud will deny to them the privilege of returning a few Fellows to the University where there are no political considerations involved or at any rate where there ought not to be any political considerations.

Let us see what the case of the Syndicate is. The Senate having appointed the Syndicate becomes practically dead—it is only to come to life practically when it is to appoint a Syndicate. Now, Gentlemen I do not pretend to be familiar with the constitutions of the Senates of many Universities but I have studied the constitutions of some Universities and it seems to



me preposterous to say the least of it to say that a body which is really the executive of the larger body of the Senate ought to sit over the heads of the Senate and pass on measures to Government and decide many questions of importance without any reference to the Senate. Gentlemen if you are going to have a reconstituted Senate, why this great feeling of distrust? Trust begets and the reverse also holds good. You complain that we are very uncharitable in criticising you you complain that we attribute motives. Very well we are sorry if that should be so. But here you are. You will not trust us with these smaller powers when along with a number of European professors and Government officials we want to exercise the privilege of electing such men as we consider to be best qualified to work on the Syndicate. What does the statutory provision for the representation of the teaching faculty mean? I have the highest respect for the body of professors under whom instruction is being imparted in this country. I have never been disobedient to my professors (Laughter) and I can tell you that I consider it a high privilege to sit at the feet of learned men and imbibe the learning that they are able to impart. I think good and true are the men who are in the Senate, all men connected with the Educational Department who ought to be on the Syndicate will by force of circumstances, be elected over the heads of any other men that might be there. The Senate has not in the past failed to discharge this duty in my part of the country in Bombay the constitution of which I have studied to some extent and in Bengal as my friend says why now tie down the Senate to the necessity of electing a man whether it considers him competent or not? In my own province the Principal of a College—I don't want

you to know his name—was very keenly anxious to get on to the Syndicate. There were many other learned men and those who were as keen in thinking that he ought not to come on the Syndicate. He was defeated on more than one occasion. You can just consider that, if you make it compulsory on the part of the Senate to elect a certain proportion of men, the danger is that men who are not competent will be put on the Syndicate and that the entire management of the University must suffer to some extent. Therefore it is that we pray to Government to remove the clause which makes this statutory provision regarding the representation of professors, and to trust to the good sense of the members of the Senate to elect not only half the proportion but a major portion of those who will deal with the executive affairs of the University.

Gentlemen so much for the constitution of the Senate and the Syndicate. Let us see what other powers are going to be conferred upon the Syndicate under the Bill. The Syndicate is going to deal with the important question of affiliation and disaffiliation. Gentlemen, knowing as we do in our part of the country what difficulties the Colleges undergo in getting affiliated where this power is entrusted to the Syndicate I must strongly protest against this provision. Gentlemen, you have other conditions put in. There is the provision for the residence of students in Colleges. Now I may tell you that I am wholeheartedly in favour of the residential system. In my own humble way in connection with the Muir College at Allahabad I have been working along with other Members as Secretary of the Committee which has raised Rs 1,60,000 to build a boarding house. We are endeavouring to raise three lakhs and provide

accommodation for 200 students. Gentlemen, while I am so keenly in favour of that system being introduced, I do feel that it will be a wrong thing to make it compulsory upon Colleges to provide the system of residential quarters because they are affiliated. I will tell you my reason. The Muir College at Allahabad was established in response to the wishes of certain leading gentlemen and with the help of subscriptions paid by several native chiefs, the Maharajah of Vizianagaram contributing one lakh. Of the two lakhs raised a considerable sum, the Government said, would be reserved for residential quarters. That was at the time of Lord Northbrook. That was in 1871. You will find, in the history of the college that not until the time of Sir Antony Macdonnell, were any steps taken to really build a boarding house to accommodate students. For nearly twenty years the Government which had spent nine lakhs upon the Muir College buildings did not see its way to build a boarding house for accommodating students. I do not blame the Government of the North Western Provinces. I have my reasons. No partiality. The Government of the United Provinces have been given such small pittances in the shape of provincial grants and contracts that they did not find the money to invest. Not only that, but worse, the Government of India in many years actually scolded the Government of the United Provinces for having spent much money on higher education and less on other kinds of education. If Government with all its mighty resources, have recognised the utility of the residential system after twenty years, does it not seem violent to require all institutions which now want affiliation to show a splendid row of residential quarters for students before they are to be affiliated? We must proceed slowly. We must have

encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side, it is desirable in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, to make provision for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities. Now when you come to the Punjab University Act you find that a provision is made there in regarding teaching. In the Aligarh University Act which was passed in 1887 a more clear and more liberal provision is made to enable Universities to appoint professors and lecturers to give lectures for advanced degrees. What has come of it? Who is to be blamed for it, if this provision is not worked? It is not in a spirit of unfair criticism but only to point out the fact I submit, that it is the Government to blame for it. If the Government had only found the money or if the Government had realised its duty in the way of providing high instruction, these Universities would long ago have resounded with lectures of learned men brought from England and Germany. But Government had failed to do so unfortunately, and now the natives of India, the graduates of these Universities and failed B A's are all blamed and punished for the omissions and sins of Government. What is the provision that is being made in so far as teaching is concerned to advance our learning and promote research? Mr Raleigh said that some of the schemes which have been submitted to Government involved an expenditure which the Government were not prepared to incur. He said that five lakhs would be set apart for five years for the purpose of giving instruction in aid of the Universities and Colleges whose claims to special assistance in carrying out reforms which we have in view, have been established. You can understand how this small sum will be distributed in dribbets to the different

Universities. This is not the way in which you can expect higher teaching to be provided for. You will remember that Sir Norman Lockyer gave an estimate of 60 lakhs. Can we not ask the Government of India reasonably to give us at least one fourth of that sum, namely fifteen lakhs a year, to have higher teaching in all the various Universities. The country is considered to be fit enough to have the services of the best men of the Civil Service, the country is considered fit enough to have the best soldier the British Government can have. Are not the youth of this country qualified to receive the benefit of instruction from the best professors that can be brought to this country? We, natives of this country, have certainly no voice in expending the money which is raised from us. But if Lord Curzon's Government will be pleased to consider the moral aspect of the question and take into consideration the feelings of the educated people of India from one end of the country to the other, he should, in justice to their claims and in conformity with their prayer, set apart a much larger sum for higher education than he thinks of providing.

I will now conclude. I think we have seen that we are not to blame for not getting the benefits of the advanced type of education that we desire. Lord Curzon is a University man, he understands certainly the benefits of higher education. I will say to him, give us Universities and provide in them for the highest instruction being imparted, provide for the development of talents, for the cultivation of literature, for the elevation of professional standards and provide also a place where learned men can find their calm repose which is to be seen only in seats of learning. A great American writer speaking of Universities—you will

pardon me for quoting the passage which is so pertinent to the subject—says “A man of varied experience in public affairs has said that a great University should be at once the best place of education the greatest machine for research and the most delicious retreat for learned leisure.” This is doubtless the truth, but it is only a half truth. Universities, with ample resources for the support of investigators, scholars thinkers and philosophers, numerous enough learned enough, and wise enough to be felt among the powers of the age, will prove the safeguards of repose not only for those who live within their learned cloisters but for all who come under their influence. A society of the choicest minds produced in any country engaged in receiving and imparting knowledge devoted to the study of nature the noblest monument of literature the marvellous abstractions of mathematical reasoning the results of historical evidence, the progress of human civilization and the foundations of religious faith will be at once an example of productive quietude and an incitement to the philosophic view of life so important to our countrymen in this day when the miserable cry of pessimism on the one hand and the delightful but deceitful illusions of optimism on the other hand are in danger of leading them from the middle path and from that reasonableness of mind which first recognises that which is, and then has the hope and courage to strive for the better.

Gentlemen Lord Curzon has been in our midst for five years. Great hopes were raised in our minds from the high and noble utterances of His Excellency. His Excellency's career, for all that we can see is now coming to a close and may I appeal now to him

to immortalise his name by leaving behind him an institution which will keep up his name better than the Victoria Memorial Hall. Gentlemen, it were much better if Lord Curzon was not going to introduce real good Universities. I do wish that he had not taken up the subject like his predecessors who did not take it up and had not recognised what was needed. He might be pardoned for not having done so. But for him to have recognised the truth and then to have failed to rise to the occasion will be a thing to be much deplored. I let us yet hope that His Excellency will see the reasonableness of our claims and make ample and liberal provision for real high education for real Universities which will enable our young men to acquire something of that education which second class Universities impart in other countries.



THE HON BLE SIR P M MEHTA C I E



University The talents of the young Mehta seem to have attracted the great scholar's attention from the first, and he gave every possible encouragement to the brilliant and aspiring student The influence on Sir P. M. Mehta of the education he received at the Elphinstone College and specially of his intercourse with Sir Alexander Grant cannot be overestimated In fact it was here that he laid deep the foundations of that wide culture and refinement for which he has since been remarkable When Mr Mehta took his M. A. degree, Sir Alexander Grant nominated him a Fellow of the College and further recommended him to a travelling scholarship which had been instituted by R. D. Jeejeebhoy, a Parsee philanthropist, in order that he might proceed to England to qualify himself for the profession of the Bar Reluctant at first, the father of Sir Pherozeshah was at length prevailed upon to send his son to England, though the travelling scholarship was not ultimately taken advantage of

In England he entered himself as a student at Lincoln's Inn and for three years applied himself with rare assiduity and earnestness to the study of law In due course he was called to the Bar in 1868 and returned to Bombay on the very day when a farewell address was presented to Sir Alexander Grant on the eve of his departure to Edinburgh Such was the regard that Mr Mehta entertained for his master that hearing of the farewell meeting as soon as he landed at Bombay, he proceeded straight to the meeting to bid farewell to his beloved guru While in England Sir Pherozeshah came under the influence of Dadabhai Naorojee and made himself useful to him in his

efforts for the political advancement of his country. It may also be noted that he there made friends of the late Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjea and Mano Mohan Ghose, who were then his fellow students a friendship which lasted till their death. With the combined efforts of Dadhabai and the young students, Bannerjea and Mehta, a Society was started called the London Literary Society which subsequently grew into the present East India Association. The young Pheroze Shah read a paper before the Society, on 'The educational system of India' which showed that its author carried an old head on young shoulders.

Soon after his return to India Sir Pheroze Shah made a name for himself as a lawyer. His legal talents were first revealed in the famous 'Tower of Silence Riot Case' in 1872 when he appeared as junior Counsel for the defence along with the late Mr Anstey. Mr. Anstey who was never lavish of praise complimented his junior in the case upon his legal ability and predicted that he would reach the top of the profession. Another opportunity was afforded by the Surat Riots Case, and Sir Pheroze Shah's reputation as a criminal lawyer was established in the mofussil. Sir Pheroze Shah has ever since commanded the most extensive practice in the mofussil, and almost resembles in this respect the late lamented Mano Mohan Ghose. Sir Pheroze Shah's income as a lawyer is said to be one of the largest earned in the whole country. He has also from time to time been appointed legal adviser to several Native States on the Bombay side.

Sir Pherozeshah's public spirited activity has been in evidence from the day of his landing at Bombay. The first public undertaking with which he was intimately connected was in 1869 when mainly through his efforts a movement was set on foot to present a purse to Dadhabai Naorojee in recognition of his services to the country. Two years later he began to take prominent interest in Municipal affairs. In 1871, he read a paper on Municipal reform, a subject which was then very much before the mind of the public. When he was reading the paper he was met with a storm of indignant protest, as his views did not commend themselves to the popular taste ; but those very views were adopted and carried out in the reforms that were subsequently brought about. In 1872 he entered the Corporation of Bombay and has ever since been a member of that body, so that his Municipal career extends now over 35 years. He first distinguished himself greatly in connection with the Surat Reservoir scandal, when he powerfully exposed the whole muddle with all the resources of eloquence and sarcasm for which he is justly famous. His services in the Corporation and his knowledge of Municipal questions have given him such virtual ascendancy in it, that he has been known as the uncrowned king of the Corporation. In 1884 he was elected Chairman of the Corporation, elected a second time in 1885 and elected a third time on the eve of the visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales to India two years back. The signal honour of being elected Chairman a third time was specially conferred upon

him in order that the most illustrious member of the Corporation might welcome Their Royal Highnesses to India. According to both Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion, Sir Pherozeshah made the best Chairman that the Corporation ever had. But his ascendancy in the Corporation roused the jealousy of some Anglo-Indians and last year a discreditable effort was made to keep him out of the Corporation. The public are only too well acquainted with the machinations of the 'caucus' and its ignominious end.

But his devotion to civic affairs did not preclude him from taking interest in larger public questions. The need for a political association voicing independent public opinion became more and more felt; and in conjunction with the late Messrs. Teling and Budruddin Talyar he founded the Bombay Presidency Association, which pronounced itself on grave political questions with such remarkable ability and dignity that Sir Evelyn Baring, (now Lord Cromer) called it the 'centre of political activity and sobriety'. In 1886, Sir Pherozeshah was appointed a member of the Bombay Legislative Council by Lord Reay. During his term of office the new Municipal Bill now known as the Municipal Act (I) of 1888, was on the Legislative table. The work of opposing its objectionable features fell on the shoulders of Teling and Mehta and, needless to say, it was mainly through their exertions that the Bill was made a really liberal measure.

Sir Pherozeshah was one of those who launched the Indian National Congress in 1885 and ever since

he has been regarded as one of the most prominent leaders of the Congress movement. In 1889 when the Congress met for the second time at Bombay, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, he delivered an address which charmed with its brilliance every one present. When the Congress met at Calcutta in 1890, he was invited to preside over its deliberations and his opening address on the occasion was a splendid deliverance. He said that the Parsis were as truly natives of India as the Hindus or the Mahomedans and that they would not sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, in spite of invitations to do so from the enemies of the Congress. For various reasons, Sir Pherozeshah has not been able to attend every session of the Congress, but his interest in the movement is none the less deep and abiding. When the Congress met at Bombay for the third time in 1904, he was again Chairman of the Reception Committee and his address of welcome was fully worthy of the man and the occasion.

When the Legislative Councils were reconstituted in 1892, and the privilege of electing their own members was accorded to the public, Sir Pherozeshah was among the first to be elected to the local Legislative Council. He has been elected again and again, indeed so often that he might almost be considered a permanent member of the Bombay Legislative Council. It is impossible to speak in terms of exaggerated praise of his services on the Council. Fearless and bold, dignified and moderate, eloquent and sarcastic, he has been almost a terror to

the heaven born civilian members of the Council. He has exposed the pretensions of the officials and vindicated the claims of the educated classes to represent the masses of their countrymen. One incident in his legislative career is worthy of note. When the unpopular Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill was being carried through the Bombay Legislative Council Sir Pherozeshah retired from the Council with the non official members when he saw that all opposition was futile such was his sense of self respect. In 1894, he was elected to represent Bombay on the Imperial Legislative Council. His period of service therein may truly be pronounced to have been memorable. His independence, his boldness and his straightforwardness of criticism so different from the traditional 'Bated breath and whispering humbleness of non-official legislators deeply mortified the immaculate officials and their bitter resentment against him found expression in some theatrical attacks made by Sir James Westland. The officials complained that he had introduced a 'new spirit' into the Council but Sir Pherozeshah proved more than a match for them all. As was said of him at the time he returned argument for argument invective for invective banter for banter, ridicule for ridicule. The people of Calcutta in public meeting assembled presented him with an address eulogising his manly attitude in the Council. The people of Bombay did the same and the reply which he gave to their address was a masterpiece of argument, eloquence and satire. Sir Pherozeshah sat on the Imperial Legislative Council for three years but has never again stood as a candidate his object evidently being that of making way for younger men.

## VIII

In addition to these multifarious activities, Sir Pherozeshah has been a most active member of the Senate of the University of Bombay. He has also been a member of the Syndicate. He was the right hand man of the late Mr. Justice Ranade in fighting the educational battles of the Western Presidency. Not the least of his services in this direction was the resolute opposition which he offered to the Universities Bill.

The foregoing enumeration does not exhaust the public functions which Sir Pherozeshah has filled. He is President of the Presidency Association, Bombay, President of the Bombay Graduates Association, has taken part in almost every important public meeting held in Bombay, presided over the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Poona in 1892, and has given evidence before many Public Commissions. He is also intimately connected with the Mill Industry of Bombay.

Nor have his services gone unrecognised by the Government. He was made a C I E in 1894, and a K C I E in 1904 amidst the acclamations of all India. When Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales were in Bombay, Her Highness asked him to sign his name in her autograph book, a rare honour!

A word on Sir Pherozeshah as a speaker will not be out of place. He is undoubtedly one of the finest speakers in India. His voice and manner of delivery are charming and there is eloquence in his speeches, but the quality that distinguishes them from

# TWENTIETH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

WELCOME BY

The Hon'ble Sir P M Mehta, K C I E

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN —

I count it a piece of singular good fortune that I should stand before you here to day to tender to you my Brother Delegates of the Twentieth Indian National Congress the same cordial sincere and earnest welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee which it was my pride and privilege to tender to you on this very Congress platform exactly this day fifteen years ago. It is a piece of still greater good fortune for which both you and I cannot but be equally thankful that I am supported on this occasion as on the last by the presence amongst us of one than whom India had never a warmer truer more devoted more self sacrificing more faithful and more constant friend—you see him on my right, Sir William Wedderburn—whose name is now a household word amongst us cherished with tender respect and affection. A noble type of the high minded and high souled Englishman at his best it is owing to the fact of the existence and activity of such Englishmen in the ranks of Anglo Indians Civilians that our hopes and our aspirations escape from despair, and our attachment and our loyalty to British rule are preserved and strengthened. It never runs but it pours, says the Proverb which in its ignorance of the scheme of Providence attributes to it partiality and favouritism, and I am tempted to



boast of another piece of good fortune at finding that my Chairmanship is on this occasion as on the last, destined to be illustrated by the presidency of another such, Englishman as I have described, Anglo-Indian and Civilian, who has, not yesterday or to day, but throughout a career rising from the lowest to almost the highest step of the Civilian ladder uniformly and consistently realized that he best served the interests of his own country and the great service to which he belonged by strictly and faithfully adhering to a policy of true righteousness and sympathy. But that is another story which will be presently unfolded at due length, after I have tried, if not tried your patience for some time longer. I cannot, however, pass on without congratulating ourselves on the presence of a gentleman one of the oldest and most respected Members of Parliament, who has for years, quietly and unobtrusively, but nonetheless nobly and earnestly raised his voice in the interests of this country. I refer to Mr Samuel Smith. But in the midst of these manifold congratulations, my vanity is checked by the reflection that after all, however man may propose it is God who disposes. We looked forward at one time with enthusiastic anticipations to gaze on the kindly radiant, and loving countenances of three perhaps the oldest patriarchs of the Congress. But the call of duty which never calls him in vain has deprived us of the presence of Mr Dahabhai Naoroji, and imperative considerations of health have deprived us of the opportunity of seeing once again the beloved and revered Founder of this body Mr Hume and if I may say so his eldest son Mr W. C. Banerjee. But absent as they are we will tell them that their names and deeds are and will for ever be cherished in our hearts with love, veneration and gratitude.

And now gentlemen I trust that you will not think that I unduly indulge in the inveterate habit of the people of this "Kingdom of Bombay" to consider ourselves superior to all the rest of the country when in view of the active and passive opposition offered in past years in other parts to the measures for accommodating the Congress I congratulate myself on the fact that the account given by Sir William Hunter in his book on Lord Reys Administration as to the character of the relations between Europeans and Indians in this Presidency has been amply borne out by the way in which we have been helped in securing the best sites available in Bombay for our manifold purposes. We have received kindly and generous assistance from officials and non-officials alike in a spirit of broad minded liberality justifying Sir William Hunter's observation that the competition of races, although as keen as in any other Province is here tempered by common interests mutual forbearance and a certain reciprocal respect which impart a moderation to Bombay public opinion and to the Bombay press in political crises. The *Pioneer* said the other day that we shall presently denounce the Government that so kindly tent us the Oval as wicked. Let me assure it that we in Bombay however use no violent language and when we have to criticise Government for even the *Pioneer* will not insist that it is beyond criticism we will only call it erring and misguided.

But when I complacently congratulate ourselves on securing the best and healthiest sites for this year's Congress, I approach the question of this Pavilion and of the Encampment for your residence with some amount of nervousness. We have been told by some

an earnest, devoted and enlightened loyalty to the British Crown and a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the British Empire in which, they are firmly persuaded lie implanted the roots of the welfare the prosperity and the good Government of this country, I say, we Delegates, representatives of the people meet together at the end of the year to give voice to the public opinion of the country taking shape and formulating throughout the year, to present our Petition of Rights our Grand Remonstrance, our appeal and our prayer for a firm and unflinching grasp of a policy of wisdom and righteousness, for the reversal of retrograde measures inconsistent with such a policy and for the adoption of means steadily ensuring the gradual development of free political progress

*"Proclaiming slowly down from present to freedom"*

Such an appeal and such a prayer can be most effectively offered at a great gathering like this by the unanimous voice of Delegates assembling from all parts of the country. If gentlemen we did nothing more than make this solemn petition and this earnest prayer, we shall not have spent our monies in vain we shall not have laboured for nought

But we are told that we have done this for long and we have done this in vain. I absolutely dispute both these propositions. Has this Congress really grown old and grey and has it really effected nothing? I reply that the Congress has not yet attained its majority, I reply that the surest testimony to the value of its achievements direct and indirect and the force of its influence is to be found in the very policy of

reaction and retrogression which it has from time to time provoked, the tide following each successive ebbs of which policy takes us you may be sure, further and further on the path of progress and emancipation. To estimate this position rightly let me lay before you the confession of faith of devout and irreclaimable Congressmen like myself. I am an inveterate, I am a robust optimist like my late friend Mahadev Govind Ranade. I believe in divine guidance through human agency. It may be the fatalism of the East, but it is an active, not a passive fatalism, a fatalism which recognizes that the human wheels of the machinery must actively work to fulfil their appointed task. My humility saves me from the despair that seizes more impatient souls like those who have recently preached a gospel of despondency—I always seek hope and consolation in the words of the poet

*'I have not made the world and He that has made  
is still guide*

I derive patience from the same poet's teaching  
*My faith is large in time, and that which shapes it  
to some perfect end*

My steadfast loyalty is founded upon this rock of hope and patience. Seeking the will of Providence, like Oliver Cromwell in dispensations rather than revelations seeing God's will like him in fulfilment of events I accept British rule, as Ranade <sup>and A.V.V.</sup> this dispensation so wonderful a little island <sup>at the</sup> end of the world establishing itself in a <sup>far</sup> continent as different as difference could be, that ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> would be folly not to accept it as a declaration of God's will

But I as have often said when in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence this country was assigned to the care of England the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old : ' Behold I have placed before you a blessing and a curse a blessing if ye will obey the Commandments of the Lord your God a curse if ye will not obey the Commandments of the Lord your God but go after other Gods whom ye have not known The possession of India would be a blessing to England if administered in the spirit of righteousness , a curse if in the seductive spirit of worldliness We cordially confess that in the main England has chosen wisely and well The great and far seeing statesmen who presided at the consolidation of British rule in India proclaimed that the declared policy of the Crown in India should be one of righteousness, and they firmly and unequivocally announced it by the voice of the great and good Queen who then wore the Crown But the acceptance and announcement of a policy of righteousness is one thing its application another The adhesion to such a policy is not determined in a day it is not established without a long struggle between the forces of righteousness and those of worldliness like unto the struggle between Hormuzd and Ahirman Even the chosen people of the Hebrew God continually relapsed in spite of solemn covenants into the worship of the Gods of idolatry Therefore it is that while the oscillations and vicissitudes of the struggle go on the hope expressed by the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the Bombay Corporation and echoed by Lord Ampthill before the Madras Corporation that there may be no two parties about England in India is premature and practically futile Such a hope is unreasonable and impractical while the pledges about equality of the

Great Proclamation of 1858 are kept in the letter and broken in the spirit while the distinctions of race, colour and creed abolished by our Magna Charta are reintroduced under the plausible guise of being distinctions based on the distinctive merits and qualifications inherent in race while the burdens of Imperial Empire which should be borne by the Empire including the Colonies, are disproportionately and heavily thrown on Indian finances, while attempt after attempt is made to pass on to the Indian Fachequer Military expenditure supposed to be necessitated by the vulnerable position of India, but really designed to meet supposed Imperialistic exigencies, while the Indian subjects of His Majesty are allowed to be deprived of their rights of equal citizenship in the undisguised interests of the white races against the dark in a way which responsible Ministers of the Crown gravely declared furnished a just cause of war against the Boers, while the economic relations between the two countries are adjusted more in the interests of the predominant than of the impotent partner, while the development of the industries of the country is neglected or hampered for fear of competition with English industries, while the 'consuming love' for India in the breasts of the rulers has more the colour and character of affection towards a foster child or a step-son than the equal and engrossing love for a natural son, while the results of a really *bona fide* and laborious Commission like the Public Service Commission imperfect as they were, are attempted to be set aside and restricted by autocratic action, while the percentages of the admission of natives into the public service are estimated, not by the only true test of comparison with the promises made and rights established after public enquiry and deliberate action

but by the increases and decreases with those of years long previous to such pledges and promises totally ignoring the recognition of subsequent years of "the just claims of the natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service" as stated in the Resolution of the Government of India appointing the Public Service Commission while the people are being emasculated by the wholesale operation of the Arms Act to the future detriment of the interests of both England and India, while the small modicum of independence possessed by the Indian Universities is ruthlessly annihilated, and the Universities turned substantially into Departments of Government, so that the breeding of the discontented B.A. "that distinct political danger" may be stopped or limited and while—but it is not needful to go on any further. We thus see that the hope of there being no two parties about England in India is not founded in the realities of the situation. It is another form of the same advice that has been also recently showered upon us by Viceroys and Lieutenant Governors that there should be no political agitation in this country. I wish to speak with all respect for these disinterested advisers but I cannot help comparing them to that delightful 'Poor man's friend' Sir John Bowley so admirably depicted by Dickens—

'Your only business my good fellow is with me. You needn't trouble yourself to think about anything. I will think for you. I know what is good for you. I am your perpetual Parent. Such is the dispensation of an all-wise Providence. \* \* \* What man can do I do. I do my duty as the Poor man's Friend and Father and I endeavour to educate his mind by inculcating on all occasions the one great lesson which that class

requires, that is, entire dependence on myself. They have no business whatever with themselves." I venture to say that to accept this advice would be equally demoralizing to the rulers and the ruled. It ignores all the laws of human progress, it ignores the workings of human nature, it ignores environment and surroundings. We may be as well told to cease to breathe, to think, or to feel. Political agitation there will always be. The only question is whether we should suppress and bottle up our feelings and hopes and aspirations and our grievances in the innermost recesses of our own hearts in the secret conclaves of our own brethren or deal with them in the free light of open day. The former course would be preferred by the prophets of despair. We gentlemen, prefer the latter, because we have faith in the ultimate wisdom, beneficence, and righteousness of the English people. Curiously enough, gentlemen, this advice to cease political agitation found an echo, where one would have least expected it, in a corner of Bengal. To our astonishment, we were one day treated to a homily at a Provincial Conference in that Presidency on the thesis that subject races could have no politics. We were exhorted to abandon them in favour of Industrial and Scientific Organizations. I trust gentlemen, I will not be taken to undervalue the good work done in establishing the Association for the advancement of Industrial Science, it is already doing excellent work in conferring various industrial and technical scholarships of Rs. 100 and more. But I may be allowed to say that when I read the reports of the public meeting at which the Association was inaugurated, I could not help wondering whether our European friends who were actively supporting the movement were doing so with the hope of warning our Bengali brethren



from the bad habit to which they are supposed to be specially addicted of excessive political agitation, or whether our Bengali friends were endeavouring to coax their European friends to help them by specious professions of giving up their favourite vice and turning out reformed characters I will abstain however, from attributing motives as we are now perpetually advised to do by those who preach but never practise the virtue. It is needless to seriously controvert the thesis advanced by these Bengali friend, utterly unhistoric and unmanly as it is. If they will pardon me I will only tell them how I regard them. They seem to me to be the Exams of Bengal ready to sell their birth right for a mess of pottage. However fragrant and nourishing that pottage may be represented to be, we will not sell our birth right for it. But I am sure that there is no difficulty in retaining both the one and the other the birth right as well as the pottage.

But, gentlemen, let us go back to the pendulum which we have left to oscillate between righteousness and worldliness for too long a time and see how far the Congress has worked in propelling it in the right direction. Never had the pendulum oscillated so violently as in Lord Lytton's time. The policy of righteousness was openly scouted. It was declared that having won India by breaking all the Ten Commandments it was too late to govern it on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The country was thrown into a state of doubt and perplexity of alarm and uneasiness. From this unfortunate position it was rescued by the advent of Lord Ripon. In him we get back the true old English statesman, wise in his nobility, generosity and far sighted in his righteousness. English-

deep and genuine? How can these aspirations and desires be even gradually achieved, unless we are allowed to play at all times a modest and temperate part on the field of politics. And I venture to say it is unfair and unjust to charge us with desiring to play any but a most modest and temperate part on the field of politics, and to warn us off altogether from it. How easily we are satisfied when we are assured of sympathetic and righteous treatment by a frank and convinced acceptance of the principles of policy underlying the pledges and promises given to us, is shown by the fact that little as he actually did for us Lord Ripon's name and fame are reverently and imperishably cherished in the hearts of the millions of this country. The establishment of the Congress was almost synchronous with the departure of Lord Ripon from this country. Ever since then we have been endeavouring to formulate and place before Government measures upon which the country has come almost to an unanimous opinion as needed for the purpose of redressing grievances as well as promoting the legitimate welfare and progress of the people. It is a task which we undertook under a strong sense of duty. If as the Viceroy eloquently said in his last Budget speech 'the country and its educated classes were making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress, it would have been a grave dereliction of duty if they had not come forward on the field of politics and as I now repeat what I repeated before if they had not devoted their new culture and their energy to the task not of supplanting their rulers but of supplementing the endeavours of the best and most vigorous among them by proposing modifications and developments based on their peculiar intuitive, and native knowledge

and information, and suggested in gratitude and loyalty by that enlightenment and education which we freely admit has been one of the most precious gifts bestowed upon us by British rule. A wise and prudent statesman would so encourage in performing this task by kindly sympathy and advice as to compel us, so to say, to perform it with anxious care and moderation. To me it seems a great political blunder to engender bitterness and excess by treating the Congress with dislike and resentment. It is for this reason that I deplore the attitude of our English friends towards the Congress. They have failed to understand the somewhat curious phenomenon, which they have recently observed, of some of our co-workers condemning the Congress for its disappointing inability, and they have exultingly pointed out that this condemnation has proceeded from what has been considered the extreme wing of the Congress, and they have received their denunciations of us with cheers. But let our rulers try to realize that the men whom they cheer do not possibly desire to abandon altogether the field of politics but may in time be carried away vainly to imagine that the failure of constitutional methods like those of the Congress were an argument to substitute others not so strictly temperate. However that may be, I repeat now as before that we of the Congress have always steadily and firmly conceived our mission to be imposed by duty, sanctified by patriotism and guided by loyalty, unswayed by the resentment of our rulers or by the depressing counsels of the pessimists among ourselves. Therefore it is that our mission has been blessed and our labours have not been in vain. I thus come back to relate the record of the achievements of the Congress. I can do so briefly as it has been excellently summarized in the last number of "*India*," a paper whose

valuable services to our cause, have not, I am afraid, been so fully appreciated as they have deserved showing how imperfect are we ourselves,—a good thing to remember, especially when we are engaged in criticizing others. Our earliest efforts were directed towards securing a platform from which we could authoritatively expound our views, and they bore fruit in 1892 in the passing of the Indian Councils Act for enlarging and expanding the Councils and substantially and practically introducing the principle of election in the appointment of their members. The voice of the Congress was potent in obtaining the Commission for enquiring into Indian expenditure. Our demand for Simultaneous Examinations for the Indian Civil Service was so far successful that Mr Paul's motion in favour of it was accepted by the House of Commons. The strenuous opposition to reduce the motion into practice offered by the Indian Government has hitherto prevailed. We had however, obtained the Public Service Commission whose recommendations, though not going far enough as we desired and further throttled by the Government of India still laid down principles from which, this it is now attempted to retreat by autocratic action without any new public enquiry or deliberation. We have also urgently pressed upon the attention of Government, perhaps the most far reaching and anxious problem of Indian administration the economic problem of the poverty of the people and its concomitant agrarian indebtedness and though Government fight shy of the only true remedies, it is still a hopeful sign to see them labouring to discover less unpalatable solutions of the problem. Following upon the half hearted trial of Agricultural Banks long

and inevitably deteriorates and demoralizes irresponsible officials working in the dark to resume our narrative of the achievements of the Congress. We were the first, in spite of spurious claims to the honor, to draw attention in view of the poverty of the agricultural masses to the need of technical and industrial education, and forced it in many practical ways on the attention of the people as well as Government. In this connection, I trust that the scheme of an Institute of Research may not be allowed to fail on account of the death of Mr Tata, a death the whole country deplores, but may soon become an accomplished fact a magnificent monument of the patriotism and munificence of its author. We have also pressed upon Government the great cause of temperance. We advocated from the first reduction in the oppressive burden of the Salt tax and the raising of the assessable minimum of the Income tax both which reforms have been recently carried out. I think I need not proceed further with my enumeration. It is an honourable record. It is a record which leaves no room for disappointment or despair. But further, as is again well pointed out in *India*, what is particularly apt to be overlooked that we are by no means sure but the greatest work of all is its negative work where the results do not appear in any particular reform or political change. And I may well repeat here, to cheer our hearts and brace our energies the beautiful lines quoted by Mr Hume in his letter to us published in *India*,

For while the fired waves vainly breaking  
Seemed here no painful inch to gain  
Far back, through creeks and islets making  
Comes a lent flooding in the main

Laden with these gains, the Congress comes back to "its own native land" I well remember the day when we launched it in 1885 but hopefully 20 years ago. When it came back to us in 1889 it had only five years old it had already broadened and strengthened wonderfully. It again comes back to us fifteen years after a handsome lad on the point of attaining his majority. It has not escaped some jealousy and rivalry. Other children whom we are assured were pretty and handsome have been pressed upon us as deserving our love and affection. Well gentlemen, our hearts are large and our minds are broad and what we have done is that we have incontinently adopted them all. One you will see in this very *Panthal*, a gentle and solemn little lady in a grave-gathering assembling immediately after us. Another you will see robust and vigorous decorated with jewels and ornaments wrought in this very country or the Oval yonder. But gentlemen our affections remain unchanged from our eldest born and we refuse to deprive him of his rights of primogeniture.

I think gentlemen I have said enough to show that we have met here together from all parts of the country to pursue a noble mission hallowed to us from a sense of duty of patriotism and of loyalty all welded together by the principles of justice and righteousness which after all is said and done we gratefully recognize as the dominant principles of English rule in this country. We truly and earnestly respond to the words in which Lord Curzon addressed us the other day on his landing— I pray I pray the native community in India to believe in the good faith in the high honor and in the upright purpose of my countrymen. Gentlemen it is because we do sincerely believe in that good faith,

in that high honor and that upright purpose, that we meet here in the open light of day to appeal to their noble and righteous impulses, by all lawful and constitutional means, so to discharge the sacred trust reposed in them by Providence that it may redound to the glory and greatness of both countries. But I must be pardoned for saying that when we respond to this prayer, we do not respond to it in the slavish spirit in which the great Earl of Strafford exhorted the people of England to obey the King, "Let them attend upon his will with confidence in his justice belief in his wisdom and assurance in his parental affections. We respond to it rather in the spirit of an ideal sketched—I will take an extremely modern instance—by a highly placed Anglo Indian Civil Servant whom—though you will be perhaps surprised to hear it—I venture to describe as a Congressman in disguise as eloquent and as far reaching, as some of our own elders say, Surendranath Bannerjee or Lalmohan Ghose. I refer to Sir William Lee Warner. At an address delivered by him at the Elphinstone College Union Sir William Lee Warner eloquently depicted the ideal towards which British rule in India was tending —

It is no narrow principle of a paternal Government or a rule for the benefit of the ruler which sent forth the Roman with his poet's sailing orders.

*Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento* or which fostered differences as undermining the central authority, *Divi le et impera*. Its aim is less to govern than to call forth the progressive capacity and to teach Self Government. It desires to lift up the lower ranks of society and the subject to the pedestal of the ruler. 'Humanity and Heaven's light our guide, are its

watchwords, and they are embodied in your *Magna Charta*, the Queen's Proclamation, issued by the ruler whose authority had just been defied and restored by the sword . . . . .

There are three supreme ideas of mankind, the family, the nation and humanity. The Hindu and the Greek ruler thought of the first, the Roman Empire of the second, but the British nation accepts the last and highest as its ruling idea . . . . .

I venture to point out to you that from God's nature the British nation has learnt the grand idea of humanity, and that the legislation and administration of India under the Queen bears testimony to Her Majesty's desire to recognize a progressive future as before all those committed to her care. The protection of the weak, equality in the eye of the law, justice and a common participation in the benefits and when the time comes, in the task of good government are at least the aims which the British Government sets before it.

It is in the active spirit of this ideal that we respond, and respond cordially to Lord Curzon's prayer to believe in the good faith in the high honor, and in the upright purpose of his countrymen. May we pray in return that when we ask to be allowed to co-operate in this noble task, that Lord Curzon and his countrymen will believe that we, too of the Congress are inspired by duty, patriotism and loyalty.

I again tender to you my warmest welcome—a welcome mixed of gratitude for the past and high hope for the future with Patience and Perseverance for our





**The Hon'ble G. K. GOKHALE**

## The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E.

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Though comparatively young, the Hon G K Gokhale has won his way to the esteem and admiration of all classes of Indians, nay more, he enjoys the esteem of even Anglo Indians. That this enviable reputation is the fruit of a combination of rare qualities and of valuable services rendered to the country, the following brief sketch of his life and career will show.

He was born at Kolhapur, in an humble family of Maharashtra Brahmins in the year 1866. He was educated in the local college, till he passed the F A examination. He then went up to the Bombay Elphinstone College and took his B A degree in 1884.

His student career was now at an end, and having to choose a career in life, he chose the school master's profession. With rare nobility of purpose, he joined the Deccan Education Society, famous for the self-sacrifice of its members and their zeal in the cause of education. He became Professor of History and Political Economy in the Fergusson College Poona, on a salary of 70 Rs a month and vowed to devote himself to educational work in the College for 20 years. Needless to say, he kept his vow and in course of time he rose to be Principal of the Fergusson

College Hundreds of students have passed through his hands and must have caught something of the fire of his enthusiasm for high and noble things. It is only when men of his type dedicate themselves to educational work that education bears its proper fruit and the character of scholars moulded on right lines. Although during the twenty years spent in the Fergusson College Mr Gokhale was not much in evidence on the platform or in the press, yet those were years when many a young man received from him the necessary stimulus for the growth of mind and expansion of character.

While he was in the Fergusson College there were other activities which shared his attention with educational work. About the time that he entered the Fergusson College, Mr Gokhale came under the influence of the late Mr Justice Ranade by whom, more than by any other, we may say that the life and character of Mr Gokhale have been moulded. Under the masterful guidance of Mr Ranade Mr Gokhale devoted himself to the study of political economy for over twelve years with the result that to-day Mr Gokhale is one of the few men in India who can speak with authority on economical problems. No wonder Mr Gokhale entertains the highest reverence for the late Mr Ranade and regards him as his guru. In 1887 in compliance with Mr Ranade's wish Mr Gokhale became the editor of the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*. Subsequently he became Honorary Secretary of the Deccan Sabha. He was also one of the editors of the *Sudhark* an Anglo-Marathi weekly, of

Poona. He was Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference for four years and of the Indian National Congress held at Poona in 1895. His earnestness and knowledge of public affairs became so well known and appreciated that he was called the Rising Star of the Deccan. It was natural, therefore, that in 1897 he was selected along with Mr. Wacha by the Bombay public to go to England and give evidence before the Welby Commission on Indian expenditure. The very valuable evidence which he gave showed what a mastery he had acquired of the problems which British Rule in India presents. The most noteworthy point in the evidence was, perhaps, his insistence on the emasculation which British Rule entails upon the Indian People,—a point which our revered countryman Dadhabai Naorojee was never weary of emphasising. Mr. Gokhale pointed out how, to use his own favourite expression, under British Rule in India the tallest hind to bend in order that the exigencies of the situation might be satisfied. While in England he delivered several speeches on Indian affairs. He also published a scathing condemnation of the plague policy of the Bombay Government and the atrocities of soldiers on plague duty. The criticism provoked a howl of indignation and he was assailed by abuse and obloquy from all sides. When he returned to India he was called upon to substantiate his charges, and on friends who had furnished him with information refusing to come forward to support him, he could do nothing but tender an apology to the Bombay Government. Some time after, he was elected a member of the Bombay Legislative Council.

In 1902 he retired from the Principalship of the Fergusson College on a pension of 25 Rs a month, and about the same time he was elected to represent Bombay on the Supreme Legislative Council in place of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta whose ill health prevented his continuing in the office, and so well has Mr Gokhale acquitted himself that he has since been re-elected successively.

His election to the Supreme Legislative Council opens a new chapter in his life wherein are recorded some of his greatest triumphs in the service of his country. His very first Budget Speech came as a revelation to the public. Ever since, his speech on the occasion of the Budget has been looked forward to with eager interest. What is the secret of this public interest in his speeches generally and in his Budget ones in particular? Wherein does his strength consist? His strength consists in his mastery of facts and figures in his thorough and astonishingly detailed knowledge of administrative problems in his high financial ability, in his command of simple, clear, vigorous expression in his studious moderation of tone, and presentation and in his downright earnestness of purpose. Year after year he has explained how the surpluses shown in the Financial Statement are artificial and do not indicate the prosperity of the people, year after year he has asked for the larger enjoyment of Indians in public service year after year he has pleaded for reduction in military expenditure, year after year he has asked for the abolition of the salt tax for larger expenditure on irrigation works and technical education, year after

year he has asked for free and compulsory primary education, and urged several other reforms. Without forgetting that the recent reduction in the salt tax has been due largely to his pleadings, it must be confessed that his voice has, on the whole, been that of one crying in the wilderness. Mr Gokhale has fought bravely in the Council on many an other occasion. On the day when he made his speech on the Universities Bill, Lord Curzon had come to the Council with the intention of not speaking. But so effective was the speech of Mr Gokhale that His Lordship changed his mind and replied to the criticisms of Mr Gokhale in his usual eloquent style. It was acknowledged even in the columns of Anglo Indian papers, that the eloquence of the Viceroy did not minimise the effect produced by Mr Gokhale's speech. Equally stout was the opposition which he offered to the Official Secrets Bill. The Universities Act Validating Bill was introduced into the Council without sufficient notice having been given to the members. Though Mr Gokhale had to speak on the spur of the moment, his speech was generally regarded as a triumph of debating skill. The latest but not the least was the speech he made on the Seditious Meetings Bill, in which he gave a crushing refutation to the Government case in favour of the Bill. His speeches in the Supreme Council have earned for him the admiration and even the goodwill of the Anglo Indian community. Some of the most highly placed officials in India are his personal friends, and even Lord Curzon the masterful Viceroy that he was

Society, if the scheme reaches perfect fruition, will be among the greatest of Mr. Gokhale's claims on the gratitude of all well wishers of this country.

A few words about Mr. Gokhale's style of speaking. Mr. Gokhale is not an orator. He does not deliberately address himself to the emotions. He aims at conviction more than at moving the passions. His delivery is rapid. His armoury is full of facts and figures. His reasoning is close and earnest and his style is simple, terse and vigorous.

Mr. Gokhale is an ardent social reformer, as should be expected of a disciple of Mr. Ranade. He also conducts a daily Marathi paper in Poona, called the *Dayan Prakash*, which is devoted to the propagation of his social and political views.

His private life is extremely simple, even austere; in fact, as Mr. Newnson has lately said, he has, like a true Brahmin, dedicated his life to poverty and knowledge. No better example could be found of the old, old Indian ideal of plain living and high thinking.

Mr. Gokhale's whole life has been an offering at the altar of service to the Motherland. It is not given to all of us to be intellectually able and profound as Mr. Gokhale, but it is given to every one of us to be earnest according to his lights. And because Mr. Gokhale is deeply earnest according to his lights, the whole country respects him, friend and foe alike bow to his name. And is there any who happens to read this sketch, and who will not join with us in saying "May he long be spared! And may his shadow never grow less!"

## TWENTY-FIRST

# INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Presidential address by

The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C I E.

FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great, the signal honour which you have conferred upon me by electing me to preside over your deliberations this year. As has been said by more than one of my predecessors, the Presidentship of the Congress is the highest distinction which it is in the power of our countrymen to bestow upon any one, and proud indeed is that moment in an Indian's life when he receives at your hands this most conspicuous mark of your confidence and your favour. As I, however, stand before you to-day, it is not so much the honour of the position, great as that is, as the responsibility which it imposes upon me, that occupies my thoughts. When I was first invited nearly four months ago to accept this office, we were able to see on the horizon only the small cloud—no bigger than a man's hand. Since then the sky has been overcast and for some time a storm has been raging, and it is with rocks ahead and angry waves beating around that I am called upon to take charge of the vessel of the Congress. Even the stoutest heart among us may well own to a feeling of anxiety in such a situation. Let us, however, humbly trust that in this holy city of Benares, the Divine guidance, on which we may securely throw



recognized in Mr Gokhale 'a foeman not unworthy of his steel. He is reported to have said that it was a pleasure to cross swords with Mr Gokhale and that Mr Gokhale was the ablest Indian he had come across. Though Mr Gokhale was his most uncompromising opponent in the Council, His Lordship, in token of his admiration for his ability and character, was generous enough to decorate him with the title of C I E and also wrote a private letter to Mr Gokhale congratulating him on the decoration. Anglo Indians, too, dare not speak of him as a 'demagogue' as they do of other Indian leaders.

Mr Gokhale joined the Congress movement at an early stage of its career. He has been present at most sessions of the Congress and delivered several speeches on the Congress platform. One of the most notable of these was the speech that he delivered at the Bombay Congress in 1904 on 'Surpluses', a speech which, according to Sir Henry Cotton, would compare favourably with the best speeches heard in the House of Commons.

In 1905 he was sent as a delegate to England by the Bombay public to explain the political situation in India to the British electorate. He discharged his mission most satisfactorily, delivering no less than 45 speeches in the course of 20 days. Many competent men who heard him in England expressed themselves as charmed by his presentation of the Indian view of the British Govt. in India. Before he left for England he had been chosen President of the National Congress which was to meet in the following December in the sacred city of Benares. His work

ourselves will not fail us and that the united wisdom and patriotism of the delegates assembled will enable the Congress to emerge from the present crisis with unimpaired and even enhanced prestige and usefulness.

Gentlemen, our first duty to-day is to offer our most loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of this their first visit to India. The Throne in England is above all parties—beyond all controversies. It is the permanent seat of the majesty, the honour and the beneficence of the British Empire. And in offering our homage to its illustrious occupants and their heirs and representatives we not only perform a loyal duty but also express the gratitude of our hearts for all that is noble and high minded in England's connection with India. The late Queen Empress again was known within the limits of her constitutional position to exercise during her reign her vast influence in favour of a policy of justice and sympathy towards the Indian people. We can never forget that the great proclamation of 1858 on which we take our stand so largely in our constitutional struggle was not only in spirit but also in substance her own declaration of the principles on which India was to be governed. The present King Emperor has announced his resolve to walk in the footsteps of his mother, and we have no doubt that the Prince of Wales is animated by the same desire to see a policy of righteousness pursued towards India. We rejoice that His Royal Highness and his noble consort have come out amongst us to acquaint themselves personally with the ancient civilization of this country and its present condition. The Congress earnestly and respectfully wishes Their Royal Highnesses a most successful tour through India and it humbly trusts that the knowledge

they will acquire and the recollections they will carry back with them will constitute a fresh bond of sympathy and attachment between the Royal family in England and the Princes and people of this country

The Congress also offers a most cordial and respectful welcome to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto. The new Viceroy assumes the responsibilities of his office at a critical juncture. The temper of the people so sorely tried during the last three years calls for the exercise of wise and statesmanlike conciliation on the part of those who are in authority if further estrangement between the rulers and the ruled is to be prevented. I earnestly trust that such conciliation will be forthcoming. Meanwhile a special responsibility rests upon us all to see to it that the immediate task that confronts His Excellency is not made more difficult than it already is. The difficulties of the situation are not of Lord Minto's creating and he has a right to expect the co-operation of both the officials and the public in his endeavours to terminate a state of tension which has already produced deplorable results and which cannot be prolonged without serious detriment to the best interests of the country.

Gentlemen how true it is that to everything there is an end! Thus even the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon has come to a close. For seven long years all eyes had constantly to turn to one masterful figure in the land—now in admiration now in astonishment more often in anger and in pain till at last it has become difficult to realize that a change has really come. For a parallel to such an administration we must I think go back to the times of Aurangzeb in the history of our own country. There we find the same attempt at a

rule excessively centralized and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression resulting in bitter exasperation all round. I think even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. In some respects his Lordship will always be recognized as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to this country. His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work,—these will ever be a theme of just and unstinted praise. But the gods are jealous and amidst such lavish endowments they withheld from him a sympathetic imagination without which no man can ever understand an alien people, and it is a sad truth that to the end of his administration Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of India. This was at the root of his many inconsistencies and made him a perpetual puzzle to most men. And thus the man who professed in all sincerity before he assumed the reins of office his great anxiety to show the utmost deference to the feelings and even the prejudices of those over whom he was set to rule ended by denouncing in unmeasured terms not only the present generation of Indians but also their remote ancestors and even the ideals of their race which they cherish above everything else. He who in the early part of his administration publicly warned the official classes that official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to the stimulus and guidance of public opinion and who declared that in the present state of India the opinion of the educated classes is one which it is not statesmanship to ignore

Byculla Club speech he actually stated that he had not offered political concessions to the people of India because he 'did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so'. Taking Lord Curzon at his highest we find him engaged in a herculean attempt to strengthen the Englishman's monopoly of power in India and stem the tide of popular agitation and discontent by rousing the members of the bureaucracy to a sense of duty similar to his own and raising the standard of administrative efficiency all round. The attempt has failed as it was bound to fail. Never was discontent in India more acute and widespread than when the late Viceroy laid down the reins of office and as regards the bureaucratic monopoly of power I think we are sensibly nearer the time when it will be successfully assailed.

One claim Lord Curzon advanced in his farewell speech at Bombay which it is necessary to examine a little. He told his hearers, as he had done once before—on the occasion of the last Budget debate—that even if he had incurred the hostility of educated Indians the masses would be grateful to him for what he had done for them. This attempt to distinguish between the interests of the educated classes and those of the bulk of their countrymen is a favorite device with those who seek to repress the legitimate aspirations of our people. It is significant that Lord Curzon had never resorted to it till he had finally broken with the educated classes. We know of course that the distinction is unreal and ridiculous and we know also that most of those who use it is a convenient means to disparage the educated classes cannot themselves really believe in it. Lord Curzon mentions the reduction of the salt duty, the writing off of famine arrears, the increased

requirements of the Government. Again how paltry is the relief given by the *reduction* of the salt duty and the writing off of famine arrears compared with the enormous injury done to the mass of our people by the artificial raising of the value of the rupee which led to a heavy immediate depreciation of their small savings in silver, and which makes a grievous addition to their permanent burdens by indirectly enhancing their assessments and increasing their debts to the money lender as prices adjust themselves to the new rupee! Much has been made of Lord Curzon's increased grants to primary education. Considering how little the State does in India for the education of the masses it would have been astonishing if with such surpluses Lord Curzon had not made any addition to the educational expenditure of the country. But if he has given a quarter of a million more to education he has given five millions a year more to the Army and with reckless profusion he has increased the salaries of European officials in many departments and has created several new posts for them. A spirit of expenditure<sup>1</sup> to use an expression of Mr Gladstone has been abroad in all directions during his time and he has never practised the old fashioned virtue of economy with which the real interests of the people are bound up. Of course a ruler cannot labour as devotedly as Lord Curzon has done for seven years for increased efficiency without removing or mitigating important administrative evils but that is quite different from a claim to champion the special interests of the as against their natural leaders and spokesmen the educated classes of the community.

Gentlemen the question that is uppermost in the minds of us all at this moment is the Partition of Bengal

A Cruel wrong has been inflicted on our Bengalee brethren and the whole country has been stirred to its deepest depths in sorrow and resentment as had never been the case before. The scheme of partition concocted in the dark and carried out in the face of the fiercest opposition that any Government measure has encountered during the last half a century, will always stand as a complete illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule—its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people, the mockery of an appeal to its sense of justice, its cool preference of Service interests to those of the governed. Lord Curzon and his advisers—if he ever had any advisers—could never allege that they had no means of judging of the depth of public feeling in the matter. All that could possibly have been done by way of a respectful representation of the views of the people had been done. As soon as it was known that a partition of some sort was contemplated, meeting after meeting of protest was held, till over five hundred public meetings in all parts of the Province had proclaimed in no uncertain voice that the attempt to dismember a compact and homogeneous Province to which the people were passionately attached and of which they were justly proud, was deeply resented and would be resisted to the uttermost. Memorials to the same effect poured in upon the Viceroy. The Secretary of State for India was implored to withhold his sanction to the proposed measure. The intervention of the British House of Commons was sought, first by a monster petition, signed by sixty thousand people and later by means of a debate on the subject raised in the House by our ever watchful friend—Mr Herbert Roberts.

of the opposition which the first scheme encountered, he abandoned the idea of taking the public any more into his confidence and proceeded to work in the matter in the dark. For more than a year nothing further was heard of his intentions, and while he was silently elaborating the details of his measure, he allowed the impression to prevail that the Government had abandoned the Partition project. And in the end, when he had succeeded in securing the Secretary of State's sanction to the scheme, it was from Simla, where he and his official colleagues were beyond the reach of public opinion, that he sprang the final orders of Government upon an unprepared people. Then suddenly, came his resignation. And the people permitted themselves for a while to hope that it would bring them at least a brief respite especially as Mr. B. Adrick had promised shortly before to present further papers on the subject to Parliament, and that was understood to mean that the scheme would not be brought into operation till Parliament re-assembled at the beginning of next year. Of course, after Lord Curzon's resignation the only proper, the only dignified course for him was to take no step which it was difficult to revoke and the consequences of which would have to be faced not by him but by his successor. He owed it to Lord Minto to give him an opportunity to examine the question for himself. He owed it to the Royal visitors not to plunge the largest Province of India into violent agitation and grief on the eve of their visit to it. But Lord Curzon was determined to partition Bengal before he left India and so he rushed the necessary legislation through the Legislative Council at Simla which only the official members could attend and enforced his orders on 16th October last—a day observed as one of universal



All proved unavailing. The Viceroy had made up his mind. The officials under him had expressed approval. What business had the people to have an opinion of their own and to stand in the way? To add insult to injury, Lord Curzon described the opposition to his measure as 'manufactured'—an opposition in which all classes of Indians, high and low, uneducated and educated, Hindus and Mahomedans, had joined, an opposition *thin* in which nothing more intense, nothing more widespread, nothing more spontaneous had been seen in this country in the whole course of our political agitation! Let it be remembered that when the late Viceroy cast this stigma on those who were ranged against his proposals, not a single public pronouncement in favour of those proposals had been made by any section of the community, and that among the foremost opponents of the measure were men like Sir Jotindra Mohan Tagore and Sir Gurudas Banerji, Raja Peary Mohan Mukerji and Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, the Maharajas of Mymensing and Kasimbazar,—men who keep themselves aloof from ordinary political agitation and never say a word calculated in any way to embarrass the authorities, and who came forward to oppose publicly the Partition Project only from an overpowering sense of the necessity of their doing what they could to avert a dreaded calamity. If the opinions of even such men are to be brushed aside with contempt, if all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattle, if men, whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus made to realize the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own, then all I can say is "Good bye to all hope of co operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interests of the people." I can conceive of no graver indictment of British rule

that administrative considerations were really only secondary in the determination of this question. The dismemberment of Bengal had become necessary, because, in the view of the Government of India, "it cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion or what passes for it should be manufactured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged or suppressed." "From every point of view, the Government further states, "it appears to us desirable to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals and to preserve the growing intelligence and enterprise of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity." You will see that this is only a paraphrase in Lord Curzon's most approved style, of the complaint of the people of Bengal that their fair Province has been dismembered to destroy their growing solidarity, check their national aspirations and weaken their power of co-operating for national ends, lessen the influence of their educated classes with their countrymen and reduce the political importance of Calcutta. After this let no apologist of the late Viceroy pretend that the object of the partition was administrative convenience and not political repression!

Gentlemen it is difficult to speak in terms of due restraint of Lord Curzon's conduct throughout this affair. Having published his earlier and smaller scheme for public criticism it was his clear duty to publish similarly the later and larger scheme, which he afterwards substituted for it. But in consequence

of the opposition which the first scheme encountered he abandoned the idea of taking the public any more into his confidence and proceeded to work in the matter in the dark. For more than a year nothing further was heard of his intentions, and while he was silently elaborating the details of his measure, he allowed the impression to prevail that the Government had abandoned the Partition project. And in the end, when he had succeeded in securing the Secretary of State's sanction to the scheme, it was from Simla, where he and his official colleagues were beyond the reach of public opinion, that he sprang the harsh orders of Government upon an unprepared people. Then suddenly came his resignation. And the people permitted themselves for a while to hope that it would bring them at least a brief respite especially as Mr. B. Sinha had promised shortly before to present further papers on the subject to Parliament, and that was understood to mean that the scheme would not be brought into operation till Parliament re-assembled at the beginning of next year. Of course, after Lord Curzon's resignation the only proper the only dignified course for him was to take no step, which it was difficult to revoke and the consequences of which would have to be faced not by him but by his successor. He owed it to Lord Minto to give him an opportunity to examine the question for himself. He owed it to the Royal visitors not to plunge the largest Province of India into violent agitation and grief on the eve of their visit to it. But Lord Curzon was determined to partition Bengal before he left India and so he rushed the necessary legislation through the Legislative Council at Simla which only the official members could attend and enforced his orders on 16th October last—a day observed as one of universal

mourning by all classes of people in Bengal. And now, while he himself has gone from India, what a set of troubles he has bequeathed to his successor! Fortunately there are grounds to believe that Lord Minto will deal with the situation with tact, firmness and sympathy and it seems he has already pulled up to some extent Lord Curzon's favourite Lieutenant, the first ruler of the new Eastern Province. Mr Fuller has evidently cast to the winds all prudence, all restraint, all sense of responsibility. Even if a fraction of what the papers have been reporting be true, his extraordinary doings must receive the attention of the new Secretary of State for India and the House of Commons. There is no surer method of goading a docile people into a state of dangerous despair than the kind of hectoring and repression he has been attempting.

But gentlemen as has been well said, even in things evil there is a seed of goodness, and the dark times through which Bengal has passed and is passing have not been without a message of bright hope for the future. The tremendous upheaval of popular feelings which has taken place in Bengal in consequence of the partition will constitute a landmark in the history of our national progress. For the first time since British rule began all sections of the Indian community, without distinction of caste or creed have been moved by a common impulse and without the stimulus of external pressure to act together in offering resistance to a common wrong. A wave of true national consciousness has swept over the Province and at its touch old barriers have for the time at any rate been thrown down, personal jealousies have vanished other controversies have been hushed. Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled

bureaucracy has astonished and grieved all India and her sufferings have not been endured in vain, when they have helped to draw closer all parts of the country in sympathy and in aspiration. A great rush and uprising of the waters, such as has been recently witnessed in Bengal, cannot take place without a little inundation over the banks here and there. These little excesses are inevitable, when large masses of men move spontaneously—especially when the movement is from darkness into light, from bondage towards freedom—and they must not be allowed to disconcert us too much. The most astounding fact of the situation is that the public life of this country has received an accession of strength of great importance, and for this all India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal. Of course the difficulties which confront the leaders of Bengal are enormous and perhaps they have only just begun. But I know there is no disposition to shrink from any responsibilities and I have no doubt that whatever sacrifices are necessary will be cheerfully made. All India is at their back and they will receive in the work that lies before them the cordial sympathy and assistance of the other Provinces. Any discredit that is allowed to fall on them affects us all. They on their side must not forget that the honour of all India is at present in their keeping.

Gentlemen, I will now say a few words on a movement which has spread so rapidly and has been hailed with so much enthusiasm all over the country during the last few months—the *Swadeshi* movement. It is necessary at the outset to distinguish it from another movement, started in Bengal, which has really given it such immense impetus—the boycott of British goods. We all know that when our

Bengalee brethren found that nothing would turn the late Viceroy from his purpose of partitioning Bengal, that all their protests in the press and on the platform, all their memorials to him to the Secretary of State and to Parliament were unavailing that the Government exercised its despotic strength to trample on their most cherished feelings and injure their dearest interests and that no protection against this of any kind was forthcoming from any quarter they in their extremity resolved to have recourse to this boycott movement. Thus they did with a twofold object—first as a demonstration of their deep resentment at the treatment they were receiving and secondly, to attract the attention of the people in England to their grievances so that those who were in a position to call the Government of India to account might understand what was taking place in India. It was thus as a political weapon used for a definite political purpose that they had recourse to the boycott and in the circumstances of their position they had every justification for the step they took. And I can tell you from personal experience that their action has proved immensely effective in drawing the attention of English people to the state of things in our country. But a weapon like this must be reserved only for extreme occasions. There are obvious risks involved in its failure and it cannot be used with sufficient effectiveness, unless there is an extraordinary upheaval of popular feeling behind it. It is bound to rouse angry passions on the other side and no true well-wisher of his country will be responsible for provoking such passions except under an overpowering sense of necessity. On an extreme occasion of course a boycotting demonstration is perfectly legitimate but that occasion must be one to drive all the classes as in Bengal, to act with one impulse and make all leaders

sink their personal differences in the presence of a common danger. It is well to remember that the term 'boycott,' owing to its origin has got unsavoury associations, and it conveys to the mind before every thing else a vindictive desire to injure another. Such a desire on our part is a normal feature of our relations with England is of course out of the question. Moreover if the boycott is confined to British goods only, it leaves us full to purchase the goods of other foreign countries, and this does not help the *Swadeshi* movement in any way.

Gentlemen, the true *Swadeshi* movement is both a patriotic and an economic movement. The idea of *Swadeshi* or 'one's own country' is one of the noblest conceptions that has ever stirred the heart of humanity. As the poet asks—

'Breathes there the man with soul so dead

Who never to himself hath said —

This is my own, my native land !

The devotion to motherland which is enshrined in the highest *Swadeshi* is an influence so profound and so passionate that its very thought thrills and its actual touch lifts one out of oneself. India needs to day above everything else that the gospel of this devotion should be preached to high and low to Prince and to peasant in town and hamlet till the service of motherland becomes with us an overmastering passion as it is in Japan. The *Swadeshi* movement as it is ordinarily understood, presents one part of this gospel to the mass of our people in a form which brings it within their comprehension. It turns their thoughts to their country, accustoms them to the idea of voluntarily

making some sacrifice for her sake, enables them to take an intelligent interest in her economic development and teaches them the important lesson of co-operating with one another for a national end. All this is most valuable work, and those who undertake it are entitled to feel that they are engaged in a highly patriotic mission. But the movement on its material side is an economic one and though self-denying ordinances extensively entered into, must serve a valuable economic purpose, namely to ensure a ready consumption of such articles as are produced in the country and to furnish a perpetual stimulus to production by keeping the demand for indigenous things largely in excess of the supply, the difficulties that surround the question economically are so great that they require the co-operation of every available agency to surmount them. The problem is indeed one of the first magnitude. Twelve years ago the late Mr. Rinde remarked at an Industrial Conference held at Poona: 'The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable though unfelt domination which the capital enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence which paralyzes the springs of all the varied activities which together make up the life of a nation. The question of production is a question of capital, enterprise and skill and in all these factors our deficiency at present is very great. Whoever can help in any one of these fields is therefore, a worker in the *Swadeshi* cause and should be welcomed as such. Not by methods of exclusion but by those of comprehension, not by insisting on every one working in the same part of the field but by leaving each one free to select his own corner by bringing to the cause all who



are likely to help and not alienating any who are already with us, are the difficulties of the problem likely to be overcome. Above all, let us see to it that there are no fresh divisions in the country in the name of *Swadeshim*. No greater perversion of its true spirit could be imagined than that.

Take the question of cotton piece goods, of which we import at present over 22 millions sterling worth a year. This is by far the heaviest item among our imports and our present *Swadeshi* agitation is directed mainly towards producing as much of these goods in our own country as possible. I have consulted three of the best experts available in India on this subject—Mr. Bazarji of Nagpore, the right hand man of the late Mr. Tata in mill matters, the Hon. Mr. Vithaldas Damodaridas, who has written an admirable paper on the cotton industry for the Industrial Conference and has kindly placed a copy of it at my disposal and our friend Mr. Wacha. They are all agreed about the requirements and the difficulties of the situation. So far as the cotton fabrics are concerned, even strict Free Traders should have nothing to say against the encouragement which the *Swadeshi* movement seeks to give to their manufactures in India. In the first place, many of the usual objections that may be urged against a system of State protection do not apply to helpful voluntary action on the part of consumers, such as the *Swadeshi* movement endeavours to promote. Moreover, the essence of Free Trade is that a commodity should be produced where the comparative cost of its production is the least and that it should be consumed where its relative value is the highest, and if accidental circumstances have thwarted such an adjustment in a given case any agency which seeks to overcome

of which about 14 crore yards is exported to foreign countries and about 41 crores is left for consumption in the country. If we put down the production of the hand looms at about 90 crore yards we have about 130 crore yards as the quantity of *Sua lesli* cloth consumed at present in India.

The quantity of piece goods imported from the United Kingdom and retained for use in the country is about 20½ crore yards a year. On the total cloth consumed therefore, over one third is at present *Sua lesli*. This is an encouraging feature on the situation. But the imported cloth is almost all superior in quality. While our mills, Mr Vithaldas says, produce the coarser cloth say from yarn up to 30s count and in a few cases up to 40s, the bulk of the imported cloth is of the finer quality using yarn over 30s count. The Indian weaving mills are obliged to restrict themselves for the most part to weaving coarser cloth owing to the inferior quality of cotton now grown in the country. It may be noted that even from existing cotton hand looms can, owing to their greater delicacy of handling the yarn, produce finer cloth than the power looms. Fortunately owing to the exertions of the Agricultural Department of the Bombay Government—exertions for which it is entitled to the best thanks of the whole country—Egyptian cotton has just been successfully introduced into Sind and this year a thousand bales of a quality equal to very good Egyptian have been produced. A much heavier crop is expected next year and there is no doubt that its cultivation will rapidly extend. The main difficulty in the way of our manufacturing the quality of cloth that is at present imported is one of capital. Mr Welch estimates that the whole quantity of 20 crore yards is to be produced

portion of the imported cotton cloth can be made in the Indian hand-loom with great profit to the whole community. The question of the immediate revival of the hand-loom weaving industry on a commercial basis demands the most earnest attention of every well-wisher of India and evidence gives promise of a successful issue to efforts put forward in this direction." The outlook here is thus hopeful and cheering; only we must not fail to realize that the co-operation of all who can help—including the Government—is needed to overcome the difficulties that lie in the path.

Gentlemen, this is the twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress. Year after year, since 1885, we have been assembling in these gatherings to give voice to our aspirations and to formulate our wants. When the movement was first inaugurated, we were under the influence of that remarkable outburst of enthusiasm for British Rule, which had been evoked in the country by the great Viceroyalty of the Marquis of Ripon. That best beloved of India's Viceroys was not content to offer mere lip homage to the principle that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. He had dared to act on it in practice and he had braved persecution at the hands of his own countrymen in India for its sake. Lord Ripon's noblest service to this country was that he greatly quickened the processes, by which the consciousness of a national purpose comes to establish itself in the minds of a people. The Congress movement was the direct and immediate outcome of this realization. It was started to focus and organize the patriotic forces that were working independently of one another in different parts of the country so as to invest their work with a national character and to increase their general effectiveness.

Hope at that time was warm and faith shone bright, largely as a result of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty, and those who started the Congress believed that by offering their criticism and urging their demands from a national platform, where they could speak in the name of all India, they would be able to secure a continuous improvement of the administration and a steady advance in the direction of the political emancipation of the people. Twenty years have since elapsed and during the time much has happened to chill that hope and dim that faith, but there can be no doubt that work of great value in our national life has already been accomplished. The minds of the people have been familiarized with the idea of a united India working for her salvation a national public opinion has been created close bonds of sympathy now knit together the different Provinces, caste and creed separations hamper less and less the pursuit of common aims, the dignity of a consciousness of national existence has spread over the whole land. Our record of political concessions won is, no doubt very meagre, but those that have been secured are of considerable value some retrogression has been prevented and if latterly we have been unable to stem the tide of reaction the resistance we have offered though it has failed of its avowed purpose has substantially strengthened our public life. Our deliberations have extended over a very wide range of problems public opinion in the country is, in consequence better informed and the Press is steadily growing in authority and usefulness. Above all there is a general perception now of the goal towards which we have to strive and a wide recognition of the arduous character of the struggle and the immense sacrifices it requires.

by mills, the industry requires an additional capital of about 30 crores of rupees. Even if we proposed to spread this over ten years, we should require in addition of 3 crores of rupees every year. Now if we turn to the Statistical Abstract of British India, we shall find that the total increase in the capital invested in cotton mills during the last ten years has been only about 3 crores,—an amount that Mr. Wadia wants every year for ten years. The normal development of the mill industry is thus plainly unequal to the requirements of the situation. Moreover, it is well to remember what Mr. Bezant says—that the present mill owners must not be expected to be very keen about the production of finer cloth, because its manufacture is much less paying than that of the coarser cloth. This is due to various causes, the principal one among them being that English capital similarly invested, is satisfied with a smaller range of profits. Capital from other quarters must, therefore, be induced to come forward and undertake this business. If we again turn to the Statistical Abstract we shall find that our people hold about 50 crores of rupees in Government Securities and about 11 crores in Postal Savings Banks. In the Presidency and other Banks the private deposits stand at about 33 crores of rupees, but there are no means of ascertaining how much of the amount is held by Indians. Considering the extent of the country and the numbers of the population, these resources are of course extremely meagre. Still they might furnish some part of the capital needed. In this connection may I say that a special responsibility now rests in the matter on the Aristocracy of Bengal! And this is not merely because the *Swadeshi* movement is being so vigorously advocated in their Province but also because owing to the Permanent Settlement of

Bengal they are enabled to enjoy resources which, in other parts of India, are swept into the coffers of the State. If sufficient capital is forthcoming, Mr. Bezant's patriotism may, I am sure, be relied on to secure for the undertaking whatever assistance his great capacity and unrivalled knowledge can give. It must however, be admitted that capital will come forward only cautiously for this branch of the business. But the hand looms are likely to prove of greater immediate service. Mr. Vithaldas looks forward to a great revival of the hand-loom industry in the country, and I cannot do better than quote what he says on this point in his paper. "This village industry," he says, "gives means of livelihood not only to an immense number of the weaver class, but affords means of supplementing their income to agriculturists—the backbone of India—who usually employ themselves on hand looms when field work is unnecessary, and also when owing to famine, drought or excessive rains agricultural operations are not possible. Now the apparatus with which they work is nearly two centuries behind the times. Mr. Havell, Principal of the Calcutta School of Arts, Mr. Chatterton of the Madras School of Arts and Mr. Churchill of Ahmednagar along with many others are doing yeoman's service by taking keen interest in the question of supplying economical and improved apparatus to the hand loom weavers. Mr. Havell has pointed out that in preparing the warp our hand loom weavers are incapable of winding more than two threads at a time, though the simplest mechanical device would enable them to treat 50 or 100 threads simultaneously. The latest European hand loom which successfully competes with the power loom in Europe and in many places in Europe, can turn out a maximum of 48 yards of common cloth in day. Mr. Havell is satisfied that the greater

portion of the imported cotton cloth can be made in the Indian hand looms with great profit to the whole community. The question of the immediate revival of the hand loom weaving industry on a commercial basis demands the most earnest attention of every well-wisher of India and evidence gives promise of a successful issue to efforts put forward in this direction. The outlook here is thus hopeful and cheering, only we must not fail to realize that the co-operation of all who can help—including the Government—is needed to overcome the difficulties that lie in the path.

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portion, about nearly one third. These two, between them account for about 14 millions out of 44. Then over 3 millions are paid to European officials in civil employ. This leaves only about 7 millions at the disposal of the Government to be applied to other purposes. Can any one who realises what this means, wonder that the Government spends only a miserable three quarters of a million out of State funds on the education of the people—primary, secondary and higher, all put together? Japan came under the influence of Western ideas only forty years ago and yet already she is in a line with the most advanced nations of the West in matters of mass education. The State finding funds for the education of every child of school going age. We have now been a hundred years under England's rule, and yet to-day four villages out of every five are without a school house and seven children out of eight are allowed to grow up in ignorance and in darkness! Militarism, Service interests and the interests of English capitalists—all take precedence to-day of the true interests of the Indian people in the administration of the country. Things cannot be otherwise for it is the Government of the people of one country by the people of another and this as Mill points out, is bound to produce great evils. Now the Congress wants all this should change and that India should be governed, first and foremost in the interests of the Indians themselves. This result will be achieved only in proportion as we obtain more and more voice in the government of our country. We are prepared to bear—and bear cheerfully—our fair share of the burdens of the Empire, of which we are now a part but we want to participate in the privileges also and we object most strongly to being sacrificed as at present in order

that others may prosper. Then the Congress asks for a redemption of those promises for the equal treatment of Indians and Englishmen in the Government of this country, which have been so solemnly given us by the Sovereign and the Parliament of England. It is now three quarters of a century since the Parliament passed in Act, which the Court of Directors pointed out, meant that there was to be no governing caste in India. The governing caste, however, is still as vigorous as exclusive as ever. Twenty five years later, the late Queen Empress addressed a most memorable Proclamation to the Princes and people of India. The circumstances connected with the issue of that Proclamation and its noble contents will always bear witness to the true greatness of that great sovereign and will never cease to shed lustre on the English name. The Proclamation repeats the pledges contained in the Charter Act of 1833, and though an astounding attempt was made less than two years ago by the late Viceroy to explain away its solemn import the plain meaning of the royal message cannot be altered without attributing what is no thing less than an unworthy subterfuge to a Sovereign, the deep reverence for whose memory is an asset of the Empire. That the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 have created in the eyes of reactionary rulers a most inconvenient situation is clear from a blunt declaration which another Viceroy of India the late Lord Lytton made in a confidential document which has since seen the light of day. Speaking of our claims and expectations based on the pledges of the Sovereign and the Parliament of England he wrote. We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them (the Natives of India)

and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straight-forward course. Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the air. We accept Lord Lytton as an unimpeachable authority on the conduct of the Government in evading the fulfilment of the pledges. We deny his claim to lay down that our 'Claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled.'

Our whole future, it is needless to say, is bound up with this question of the relative positions of the two races in this country. The domination of one race over another—especially when there is no great disparity between their intellectual endowments or their general civilization—inflicts great injury on the subject race in a thousand insidious ways. On the moral side, the present situation is steadily destroying our capacity for initiative and dwarfing us as men of action. On the material side it has resulted in a fearful impoverishment of the people. For a hundred years and more now India has been for members of the dominant race a country where fortunes were to be made to be taken out and spent elsewhere. As in Ireland the evil of absentee landlordism has in the past aggravated the racial domination of the English over the Irish so in India what may be called absentee capitalism has been added to the racial ascendancy of Englishmen. A great and ruinous drain of wealth from the country has gone on for many years the net excess of exports over imports (including treasure) during the last forty years amounting to no less than a thousand millions sterling.

The steady rise in the death rate of the country—from 24 per thousand, the average for 1882—84, to 30 per thousand, the average for 1892—94, and 34 per thousand, the present average,—is a terrible and conclusive proof of this continuous impoverishment of the mass of our people. India's best interests—material and moral—no less than the honour of England, demand that the policy of equality for the two races promised by the Sovereign and by Parliament should be faithfully and courageously carried out.

Gentlemen, as I have already observed, the manner in which the Partition of Bengal has been carried out furnishes a striking illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule. Happy the features are not always so conspicuously in evidence. No one also denies that a large proportion of the members of the bureaucracy bring to their work a high level of ability, a keen sense of duty and a conscientious desire, within the limits of the restricted opportunities permitted by the predominance of other interests to do what good they can to the people. It is the system that is really at fault—a system which relegates the interests of the people to a very subordinate place and which, by putting too much power into the hands of these men, impairs their sense of responsibility and develops in them a spirit of intolerance of criticism. I know many of these men are on their side constantly smarting under a sense of unfair condemnation by our countrymen. They fail to realize that if the criticism that is passed on their actions is sometimes ill informed and even unjust, this is largely due to the veil of secrecy which carefully hides official proceedings from the view of the people in India. Moreover, theirs are at present all the privileges of the position and they must bear

satisfaction by the native population as heralding a new era of social progress and as satisfying the active intelligence of the Hindus. Now it must be observed that the character of the teaching thus inaugurated by Englishmen would necessarily reflect the ideals which have for centuries prevailed among them. In other words, Indian youths would be brought up to admire our doctrines of political liberty, popular rights and national independence, nor could it ever have been supposed that these lessons would fall upon deaf ears and cold hearts. On the contrary, the inevitable result of such teaching was clearly perceived by the Government of those days, and was regarded in a generous spirit. In support of this assertion I may mention that at the time of the inauguration of these measures I accompanied the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (Sir Frederick Halliday) on one of his winter tours through the province. Naturally he called the attention of those, who attended the public meetings held by him to the new education policy and he always took occasion to declare that the schools would promote one of the leading purposes of British rule *which was to prepare the people for self government*. It certainly was not supposed that at any subsequent time a policy would be adopted which would disappoint the legitimate hopes thus created. Now, however, that the time has come for the bureaucracy to part with some of its power in favour of the educated classes all kinds of excuses are brought forward to postpone what is no doubt regarded as the evil day. One favourite argument is that the educated classes are as yet only a very small fraction of the community. The hollowness of this plea was well exposed by the late Mr George Yule in his address as President of our National Congress in 1888. Quoting Prof Thorold Rogers he pointed

out that a hundred years ago not one man in ten or one woman in twenty knew how to read and write in England. Going another century or two back he added, the people of England man and boy, high and low, with the exception of a mere handful, were steeped in the grossest ignorance and yet there was a House of Commons. We have now in this country about 15 million people who can read and write, and about a million of these have come under the influence of some kind of English education. Moreover, what we ask for at present is a voice in the Government of the country, not for the whole population but for such portion of it as has been qualified by education to discharge properly the responsibilities of such association. Another argument, brought forward in favour of maintaining the present bureaucratic monopoly of power is that though the educated classes make a grievance of it, the mass of the people are quite indifferent in the matter. Now, in the first place, this is not true. However it may suit the interests of the officials to deny the fact the educated classes are in the present circumstances of India the natural leaders of the people. There is the Vernacular Press, the contents of which do not fail to reach the mass of our population, in a hundred ways they have access to the minds of the latter, and what the educated Indians think to day, the rest of India thinks to morrow. Moreover do the officials realise how their contention condemns their rule out of their own mouth? For it means that only so long as the people of India are kept in ignorance and their faculties are forced to be dormant, that they do not raise any objection to the present system of administration. The moment education quickens those faculties and clears their vision they range themselves against a continuance of the system.

urged with the greatest effect and press them forward in this country and in England with all the energy we can command. In my humble opinion our immediate demands should be—(1) A reform of our Legislative Councils raising the proportion of elected members to one half, requiring the budgets to be formally passed by the Councils, and empowering the members to bring forward amendments, with safeguards for bringing the debates to a close in a reasonable time. The Presidents of the Councils should have the power of veto. The Viceroy's Legislative Council consists at present of 25 members, of whom only five are elected—one by the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta—a body of Europeans—and the other four by four provinces. We must ask for the proportion of elected members to be now raised to 12. Of this number two seats might be given, one to commerce and one to certain industries, and the remaining ten should be assigned to different provinces, two to each of the three older provinces, and one each to the remaining. And to begin with the right of members to move amendments, may be confined to one amendment each. The two members for commerce and industries will generally be Europeans and they will ordinarily vote with Government. Thus even if all the ten provincial members voted together, they would be only 10 out of 25. Ordinarily they will not be able to carry a motion against the Government but on exceptional occasions they may obtain the support of two or three men from the other side and then the moral effect of the situation will be considerable. In the provincial Legislative Councils, we must have an increase in the number of members, each district of a province being empowered to send a member. The objection that

these bodies will, in that case, be somewhat unwieldy is not entitled to much weight

(2) The appointment of at least three Indians to the Secretary of State's Council, to be returned, one each, by the three older provinces.

(3) The creation of Advisory Boards in all Districts throughout India, whom the heads of districts should be bound to consult in important matters of administration concerning the public before taking action. For the present, their functions should be only advisory, the collectors or District Magistrates being at liberty to set aside their advice in their discretion. Half the members of a Board should be elected representatives of the different Talukas or subdivisions of the district and the other half should consist of the principal District Officers and such non-official gentlemen as the head of the district may appoint. These Boards must not be confounded with what are known as District Local Boards. There is, at present, too much of what may be called Secretariat rule with an excessive multiplication of central departments. District administration must be largely freed from this and reasonable opportunities afforded to the people concerned to influence its course, before final decisions are arrived at. If such Boards are created, we may, in course of time, expect them to be entrusted with some real measure of control over the district administration. The late Mr. Rinde used to urge the importance of such Boards very strongly. If ever we are to have real local government in matters of general administration, the creation of these Boards will pave the way for it. One great evil of the present system of administration is its secrecy. This will be materially reduced, so



for its district administration is concerned, by the step proposed

(4) The recruitment of the Judicial Branch of the Indian Civil Service from the legal profession in India.

(5) The separation of Judicial and Executive functions

(6) A reduction of military expenditure

(7) A large extension of primary education

(8) Facilities for industrial and technical education

(9) An experimental measure to deal with the indebtedness of the peasantry over a selected area

I think, gentlemen, if we now concentrate all our energies on some such programme, we may, within a reasonable time, see results, which will not be altogether disappointing. One thing is clear. The present is a specially favourable juncture for such an effort. In our own country, there is sure to be a great rebound of public opinion after the repression to which it has been subjected during the last three years. And in England, for the first time since the Congress-movement began, the Liberal and Radical party will come into real power. My recent visit to England, during which I enjoyed somewhat exceptional opportunities to judge of the situation, has satisfied me that a strong current has already set in there against the narrow and aggressive Imperialism which only the other day seemed to be carrying everything before it. The new Prime Minister is a tried and trusted friend of freedom. And as regards the new Secretary of State for India, what shall I say? Large numbers of

educated men in this country feel towards Mr Morley as towards a Master, and the heart hopes and yet it trembles, as it had never hoped or trembled before. He, the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill the friend and biographer of Gladstone,—will he courageously apply their principles and his own to the government of this country, or will he too succumb to the influences of the India Office around him and thus cast a cruel blight on hopes which his own writings have done so much to foster? We shall see, but in any case his appointment, as Secretary of State for India indicates how strongly favourable to our cause the attitude of the new Ministry is. Mr Ellis, the new Under Secretary of State for India, is openly known to be a friend of our aspirations. A more gratifying combination of circumstances could not be conceived and it now rests with us to turn it to the best advantage we can for our Motherland.

Gentlemen one word more and I have done. I have no wish to undertake the difficulties that lie in our path but I am convinced more than ever that they are not insuperable. Moreover the real moral interest of a struggle, such as we are engaged in lies not so much in the particular readjustments of present institutions, which we may succeed in securing as in the strength that the conflict brings us to be a permanent part of ourselves. The whole life of a people which is broader and deeper than what is touched by purely political institutions is enriched even by failures, provided the effort has been all that it should be. For such enrichment the present struggle is invaluable. "The true end of our work," said Mr. Rindge nine years ago "is to renovate to purify and also to perfect the whole man by liberating his intellect elevating

his standard of duty, and developing to the full all his powers. Till so renovated, purified and perfected, we can never hope to be what our ancestors once were—a chosen people, to whom great tasks were allotted and by whom great deeds were performed. Where this feeling animates the worker, it is a matter of comparative indifference in what particular direction it asserts itself and in what particular method it proceeds to work. With a liberated manhood, with buoyant hope with a faith that never shirks duty, with a sense of justice that deals fairly by all with unclouded intellect and powers fully cultivated, and, lastly, with a love that overleaps all bounds, renovated India will take her proper rank among the nations of the world and be the master of the situation and of her own destiny. This is the goal to be reached—this is the promised land. Happy are they, who see it in distant vision, happier those who are permitted to work and clear the way on to it, happiest they, who live to see it with their eyes and tread upon the holy soil once more. Famine and pestilence, oppression and sorrow, will then be myths of the past, and the gods will once again descend to the earth and associate with men as they did in times which we now call mythical. Gentlemen, I can add nothing that may be worthy of being placed by the side of these beautiful words. I will only call to your minds the words of mother—the teacher of humanity—who tells us to keep our faith in spite of trying circumstances and warns us against the presumption of despairing because we do not see the whole future clearly before our eyes —

\* Our times are in His hand

Who saith A whole I planned

Youth shows but I all. Trust God, see all nor be afraid



H. H. THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA

# The Gaekwar of Baroda.

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The present Gaekwar of Baroda is, by common consent, acknowledged to be, perhaps the ablest and most enlightened of native rulers in India. Under his rule, Baroda has made such progress that it has come to be regarded as a model State. The life of such a ruler cannot fail to be of interest.

The present Gaekwar of Baroda was born in the month of March 1867, in a village in Khandesh, when Baroda was being governed by Maharajah Khande Rao.

Maharajah Khande Rao was succeeded by his brother Malhar Rao Gaekwar who notoriously misgoverned the State, till the British Government thought it its duty to intervene. A Commission was appointed in 1875 to inquire into the charges brought against him and as a result of the investigation the reins of government were taken out of his hands and the widow of his predecessor was instructed by the British Government to adopt a son to her husband. Thereupon she adopted the present Gaekwar, then a lad of thirteen.

The highest attention was paid to the education of the young Gaekwar. He was placed under very able tutors. When his general education had been completed, he went through a special course of lectures, at the hands of the late Sir T. Madhwa Rao, who was Dewan during his minority, on subjects connected with administration. On the 28th Dec

1881, he was invested with full powers, by Sir James Fergusson, then, Governor of Bombay.

In 1880, His Highness married a princess of the House of Tanjore. She gave birth to a son, the present Yuvraj and heir to the Gadi and died shortly after. The Maharani seems to have been a loving wife and devoted mother and the affection which His Highness entertained for her, has been fittingly commemorated. His Highness subsequently married the present Maharani and the result of the union has been three sons and a daughter.

The history of Baroda under the administration of His Highness has been a record of steady and continual progress. The Gaekwar believes that it is the paramount duty of the State, to provide the highest education for the largest number of people, of which it is capable and it is to the realisation of this ambition that his efforts have been mainly directed. He has made education *free and compulsory* for both boys and girls, between certain limits of age. The interest of higher and technical education have not been neglected and the facilities afforded in this direction, will compare very favourably with the conditions found to be prevailing under the British Government.

His Highness has also carried into effect many other reforms which are not within the range of practical politics in British India. As an instance may be given the separation of revenue and judicial functions carried out in his dominions. His Highness has also fixed a limit of age below which boys and girls cannot be contracted in marriage.

The interest of His Highness is not confined to his own State. There is not one important problem affecting the weal of India as a whole, in which he does not take an absorbing interest and in which his sympathies are not on the side of progress and advancement. He opened the Industrial Exhibition held in 1902 in connection with the National Congress. He presided over the Indian Social Conference in 1904 and lastly he delivered an address at the Industrial Conference held at Calcutta in December 1906, and the addresses which he delivered on these several occasions are wise and statesmanlike to a degree. The address which he delivered at Calcutta last year was a very remarkable one and he exhorted his hearers to buy Swadeshi things *even at a sacrifice* and further said that the Swadeshi movement, was *'our last chance as a nation'*

His Highness is an extensive traveller and has visited the West three times with the Maharanee, once in 1887 again in 1900 and lastly in 1905. It is needless to say that fortunate Baroda has reaped and will reap the benefit of these travels.

In spite of his predominantly Western education His Highness is a Hindu to the core and is a man of extremely simple habits and tastes a man of incredibly simple habits and tastes for a maharajah in fact a type of simple living and high thinking. This brief sketch cannot be better concluded than in his own words —

"It may be the mission of India clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code to

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solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West, to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervour of her people.

I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this, to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science, 'impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal,' inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbué the business ways of its merchant."



and our country. And I feel to day, as I have always felt and declared, that our interests are one and the same whatever helps and elevates you helps and elevates us, whatever retards your progress retards ours. And, furthermore, I am strongly convinced that our activities in all different departments of life, political, social and industrial are so correlated that we shall never make any marked progress in one without making similar progress in all.

The three seemingly diverse currents of intellectual activity converge towards the same head works and feed the same main stream of life. Unless we extend our horizon and take a less provincial view we can ill understand the value and place of each of these component parts in the great machinery of progress.

Gentlemen I do not propose to take much of your time with an account of the industries of India in the ancient times but a brief reference to some notable facts will perhaps not be unsuitable on an occasion like this. You are all aware that India was famed for her cotton fabrics from very ancient times, and antiquarians tell us that Indian cotton found its way to Assyria and Babylon in the remote past. Indigo which is peculiarly an Indian produce has been detected by the microscope in Egyptian mummy cloths and Indian ivory and other articles were probably imported into ancient Egypt. There can be little doubt that the old Phœnicians carried on a brisk trade with India and much of the spices and precious stones, ebony, gold and embroidered work, with which they supplied the Western world came from India.

The Greeks rose in civilization at a later date and Herodotus generally called the Father of History

speaks of Indian cotton as "wool growing on trees, more beautiful and valuable than that produced from sheep."

A brisk trade between India and the Western world was carried on during the centuries preceding the Christian era, and as Rome rose in power and importance, and Alexandria became a flourishing mart, the trade increased in volume. Silk threads, sapphires, indigo and cotton fabrics were exported from the mouths of the Indus; and the important sea-port town of Bruch, then called Bharukatcha by the Hindus, and Barygara by the Romans, imported gold, silver and other metals, glass, corals and perfumes; and exported precious stones, muslins, cotton fabrics, ivory, ebony, pepper and silk.

The Roman Empire declined after the third century. An Eastern Empire was founded with its new capital at Constantinople, and that place attracted to itself much of the Asiatic trade which used to flow before through Alexandria.

India was the scene of frequent invasions during the centuries succeeding the Christian era, and Scythians and Huns desolated her Western provinces. But a great chief and warrior, known to our literature under the name of Vikramaditya, at last turned back the tide of invasion, and India was virtually free from foreign raids from the sixth to the tenth century. It was within this period that Chinese travellers, Fa Hien, Hsuen Tsang, and others visited India as religious pilgrims, admired the arts, industries, and manufactures, and wrote on the Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries, which existed side by side in every large town. Hindu traders founded settlements in

Java and the other islands, and it was in a Hindu ship, sailing from Tamralipta or Tamlook, that Faxian left India. Those of you who have been to Europe and visited the continental towns may have seen images of Hindu gods and goddesses in the Museum of Leyden, taken there by the Dutch from Java, where Hindu religion and learning were introduced by traders and settlers from India.

Venice was the channel of trade with India after the close of the dark ages, but the glory of Venice departed with the discovery of a new route to India round the Cape by Vasco da Gama about the close of the fifteenth century, and Portugal rose in power and commercial enterprise as Venice declined. In the sixteenth century, all the Southern seaboard of Asia as far as China was practically under the commercial control of Portugal. But the Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, and, like the latter enriched themselves by the Indian trade. Likewise the English appeared on the scene a little later and wrested from the Dutch a large share of the Eastern trade in the eighteenth century. It is remarkable that within the last thousand years no nation after nation in Europe has risen to power and to great wealth mainly through the Eastern trade. Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland and England have successively been the carriers to Europe of the rich manufactures of India as the Phœnicians and the Arabs were in the ancient times.

When England obtained territorial possessions in India in the eighteenth century her commercial policy towards India was the same as her policy towards Ireland and her American Colonies. Her aim and endeavour was to obtain raw produce from her

dependencies and to develop manufacturing industry in England. She repressed manufactures elsewhere by unequal tariffs in order to develop her own manufactures. The American Colonies freed themselves from this industrial servitude when they declared their independence, but both Ireland and India suffered. Industries in both these countries steadily declined early in the nineteenth century, manufacturing industries progressed by leaps and bounds in England, and the invention of the power loom completed her industrial triumph.

Since then England has slowly adopted a fair and equitable commercial policy and repealed Navigation Acts and unequal tariffs. And to day England stands forth a pre-eminent free trader to all the world, and thus brings me, Gentlemen, to the industrial history of India of our own times.

The triumph of machinery has been the triumph of our age the victory of steam and electricity will always be memorable among the decisive battles of the world. The rise of power looms for instance has been sterling a march over the handloom workers, and the numbers employed in cotton weaving in India have declined by 23 per cent., even within the last decade. Even the ginning and the pressing of cotton has so extensively participated in the use of improved machinery that its hand workers have dwindled by fully 86 per cent. And yet it is this textile industry itself which shows how with intelligent adaptation to the improved methods of art our Indian industries can compete with the manufactures of Europe. The Bombay mills give daily employment to about 1,70,000 factory operatives while so many as 50,000 more are maintained by the

ginning presses. Some forty years ago we had only 11 cotton mills in all India. The number rose to 47 in 1876, to 91 in 1881, to 115 in 1891, and to 203 in 1901 and to day the number of our cotton mills is still larger. We had less than 4000 power looms forty years ago. The number was over 47,000 in 1901. We had less than 300,000 spindles 40 years ago. The number exceeded five millions in 1901. These are insignificant figures compared with the huge cotton industry of Lancashire, but they show that we have made steady progress and that we may fairly hope to make greater progress in the future if we are true to our aims and our own interests. Our annual produce of yarn is nearly six hundred million lbs in weight, and it is interesting to note that out of this total outturn about 30 per cent is used mostly by our hand loom weavers.

Gentlemen, it is with a legitimate pride that the Indian patriot marks this silent progress in the mill and hand loom industries of India, which next to agriculture are the largest industries in this land. New mills have been started in Ahmedabad and Bombay within the last two years, largely as a result of the present *Swadeshi* movement. In the poor State of Baroda too this progress is marked. For more than twenty years the State worked a cotton mill in the capital town to give an object lesson to the people and to encourage private companies to start similar mills. The call has now been accepted and a private company has at last been formed and has purchased the State mill from our hand with the happiest results. Recently a second mill has been completed and is about to start work and a third mill is now under construction. More than this, the number of ginning

factories and other factories using steam has multiplied all over the State and the number of hand looms has doubled in some towns. All the coarser counts of yarn in the Indian markets are now mostly of local spinning, an insignificant fraction alone being imported from abroad. In the case of yarn of higher counts, however, the local manufacture falls much below the supply of the foreign mills. Muslin and finer fabrics can be imported much more cheaply and in a more pleasing variety of design and colour, than can yet be locally produced, and the hand looms of the East once so far famed for the *finesse* of their fabrics, have now dwindled into small importance. *Prints* and *chintz* from France, England and Germany are still extensively imported to meet not only the local demand, but also the demand of markets across the Indian Frontier in Persia and Afghanistan.

Thus though there is reason for congratulation in the rise of our textile industries, there is yet greater reason for continued toil and earnest endeavour. We are still at the very threshold of success. Our cotton mills produced less than 100 million yards of cloth last year against over 2 000 million yards which we imported from other countries. Here is scope for indefinite expansion. We exported cotton of the value of 213 millions to foreign countries and imported in return for this raw material cotton manufactures of the value of 890 millions. We are thus producing only a fourth of the mill made cloth which the nation requires. And we should not rest till we are able to manufacture practically the total supply needed by our countrymen.

Gentlemen the remarks I have made about the cotton industry of India apply to some extent to the other industries which require the use of steam. Bengal

is known for its jute industry, which I believe is increasing year by year, and the number of jute mills has increased from 28 in 1895 to 98 in 1904. Northern India and the Punjab have some six woollen factories, whose produce has increased from 2½ million pounds in weight in 1895 to 3½ million pounds in 1904, and have every hope that our countrymen who have been so successful in cotton industry, will broaden the sphere of their operations, and take to jute and woollen industries also.

The silk industry is one of the most ancient industries of India but declined like other ancient industries under the repressive commercial policy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Some faint signs of improvement are, however, visible now. Tassar silk is manufactured in many parts of India and quantities of it are exported to Europe. In Assam silk still continues to be the national dress of women and each family weaves silk *saris* for its own use. In Bengal some improvements have been recently effected by the adoption of scientific methods of testing the seed. In the Punjab the attempt to re-introduce the cultivation of silk worms has not been attended with marked success. In Kashmir the industry is indigenous, and the State is endeavouring to develop it. Much attention is paid to this industry in the advanced and enlightened State of Mysore. And in the State of Baroda I have been endeavouring to spread and develop the industry. The number of these filatures in India in 1904 was only 4 and the number of silk mills was only 11 but much silk is also produced as a cottage industry.

Gentlemen so far I have confined myself to the textile industries and I have scarcely time to refer at

any length to the other industries of India. Brass and copper have been used for vessels in India from ancient times, but have been threatened lately by the cheap enamelled ironware of Europe. Aluminum is a new industry, and we are indebted to Mr. Chatterton of Madras for greatly developing it in India.

Recent geological surveys and investigations have brought to light the rich ore of iron which was lying concealed so long in Central India, and there is a great scope for the development of the iron industry. Veins of iron ore are believed to exist in several places besides those where they have been yet explored, and if only a few more enterprising companies like my friend Mr. Tata's spring up and prospect these mines, they have a hopeful future before them. If the quality of the indigenous coal is only improved and the means of communication made more easy and cheap, so as to considerably reduce the cost of transport, it would appear more profitable to melt our iron in our own furnaces, rather than import large quantities from abroad. I am glad to find that the able geologist who discovered suitable iron ore for Mr. Tata's scheme, Mr. P. N. Bose, has been selected by your Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference. The scheme is still under the consideration of Mr. Tata's son, whom I had the pleasure of recently meeting in England. There were 89 iron foundries in India in 1904, and it is to be hoped that the number will rapidly increase in the near future.

Bengal is rich in coal fields, and out of the 8 millions of tons of coal, worth about 2 crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7 millions of tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to you



to be large figures but what are 8 million of tons compared with considerably over 200 million tons annually raised in England? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal mining though greatly hampered in the endeavour both by want of capital and want of technical knowledge and I am glad the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal mining in England. The importance of coal consists in this—that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England more than any other causes.

These are the principal industries of India carried on mainly by steam and for facility of reference I have put down the figures relating to them and a few other industries in a tabular form below—

	1893	1904
Cotton Mills	149	203
Jute Mills	28	38
Woollen Mills	8	6
Cotton ginning cleaning and Press Mills	610	951
Flour Mills	72	40
Rice Mills	87	12
Sugar Factories	217	28
Silk Filatures	83	76
Silk Mills	28	11
Tanneries	60	30
Oil Mills	107	112
Lac Factories	138	128
Iron and Brass Foundries	64	89
Indigo Factories	822	420

These figures will show you at a glance our present situation in relation to the principal industries carried on by steam in India. In some industries like cotton,

we are only at the very threshold of success, and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In other industries like woollen and jute we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise, we ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries like sugar and tinneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class of industries like iron, we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India. I repeat, therefore, what I have already said before there is ground for hope but not for joy or elation, there are strong reasons for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves.

And there is one more fact which I would like to impress on you in concluding this brief survey of our present situation. A great deal of attention is naturally paid to the mill industries of India, and to tea, indigo, coffee and other industries in which European capital is largely employed. We know, however, that the labourers who can possibly be employed in mills and factories form only an insignificant proportion of the industrial population of India. Very much the larger portion of that industrial population is engaged in indigenous industries carried on in village homes and bazzars. India is, and will always remain a country of cottage industries. Where hundreds of thousands can work in mills and factories millions and tens of millions work in their own huts and the idea of greatly improving the condition of the labourers of India merely by adding to mills and factories is only

of usefulness if properly understood. There is no economic fallacy in that Swadeshi creed that runs at improving the indigenous arts. The genuine Swadeshi ought to secure a maximum of production at the minimum of cost. Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be cheerfully put up with at the outset. But remember that no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to compete successfully with foreign products. The most rigid economist will then have no flaw to find in your Swadeshi armour.

A single instance of the pitiable straits to which our industries have been reduced, on account of the difficulties mentioned above, will suffice. The export trade of Indian cane sugar has now become almost a matter of past history. The invasion of German and Austro-Hungarian beet-root sugar has driven away Indian sugar from its own stronghold. In spite of the imposition of countervailing duties and extra tariffs the bounty-fed sugar from Europe beats the Indian refiner hollow on his own field, and it is curious to observe how the cane sugar of India has suffered in the struggle. The reason is not far to seek. Laws can cure only artificial anomalies, the levy of extra duties can countervail only the adventitious advantage of bounties and subsidies, but what can remedy causes of mischief that lie deeper ingrained in the very constitution of the Indian grower and inherent in the very conditions under which the Indian refiner has to work? The demand for consumption of Indian sugar is large enough; it is even larger than the local refiners can supply; yet the cost of production is so excessively

inflated that it pays more to import the cheap beet-sugar, grown fit on foreign bounties, than to bring the products of her own growing into her markets. The growers and refiners pursue a process involving extravagant waste of raw material and ignorant of the latest inventions of science or art they adhere to the methods inherited from their sires with hide bound orthodoxy.

The same deficiency in improved methods and perfected machinery has also led to the ruin of the tanning industry of Madras. The curing and tanning of skins by an improved process in America has been found more suitable and more economical than the purchase of skins tanned in India. Similarly the manufacture of synthetic indigo, like other coal tar preparations, has effected a revolution in agricultural chemistry, and the quantities of artificial indigo that the German factories have dumped into the markets of the world at very cheap rates have a very depressing influence on the indigo trade of Bengal. The exports of indigo which in 1895 amounted to about 53 millions in value, dwindled down to the low figure of 6 millions 10 years later, and the decline has been so rapid that it has been a cause of alarm to an optimist of even a thorough Micawber type. Dyes of no less value than 75 lakhs of rupees were poured into the Indian markets from Germany Belgium and Holland in 1905, and these products of aniline and alizarine dyes have completely ousted the Indian dyers from their own markets.

It thus becomes imperative on all of us to endeavour to minimise this helplessness and enrich the industrial resources of our country. The trade returns

precipice and are threatened with imminent extinction. The problem of saving the country from this perilous plight, and emancipating her economic slavery to the nations from the West, has become the one topic of absorbing interest, and to find out a cure for the malady has become the one anxious thought of every patriot and of every statesman. You Gentlemen, have already bestowed your earnest attention to this subject, and I need therefore only make mention of the industries which appear to me to be capable of great progress in the immediate future. The list is appended below.

- 1 The textile industry
- 2 Carpenters and other wood work
- 3 Iron copper and brass works
- 4 Work in gold and silver and jewellery
- 5 Masonry and stone works
- 6 Pottery and brick and tile making.
- 7 Dyeing
- 8 Tannery and leather works
- 9 Rope weaving
- 10 Cane and bamboo works mat making and basket weaving
- 11 Glass works
- 12 Turnery and lac works
- 13 Horn and ivory carving
- 14 Embroidery
- 15 Sugar refinery
- 16 Tobacco curing and
- 17 Oil and flour mill

Out of these industries we might select, to begin with those for which there is a large demand in our home markets and whose raw material we have been at present exporting in ship loads for working them into finished products abroad. In the place of large exports of raw vegetable products our endeavour

should be to send out large cargoes of manufactured and finished goods. In 1901 we exported oil seeds of the value of 10½ millions of rupees, and imported oil of the value of 22 millions. Our oil factories in the Bombay Presidency are said to have supported only 76 operatives at the last census. There is an indefinite scope for the expansion of this manufacturing industry in the country. Oil pressers have diminished by 47 per cent. during the last decade, as it was found more profitable to export oil seeds and import pressed oil from abroad than to press it at home by crude and antiquated processes. Besides, as Dr Voelcker has pointed out to us to export the entire oil seed is to export the soil's fertility.

Moreover, every year we export large quantities of wheat and other grain to be ground in foreign mills and import large quantities of flour for our use, while the wheat grinding mills in the Bombay Presidency afford no employment to more than 78 operatives as the figure for the last census informs us. These are instances of the low state of our industries and of the difficulties under which they suffer. It should be your aim and endeavour to face and conquer these difficulties and a wise and sympathetic legislation should help your effort and lead you to success.

Four years ago I made some remarks at Ahmedabad which with your permission I will repeat to day.

Famine increasing poverty widespread disease—all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another aspect of the matter and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as people. *It is our last chance*

"Fail there, and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker,—more dependent on foreign help. We must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master."

"Solve that problem, and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among nations."

These are words which I spoke at Ahmedabad and I repeat them to-day, because we feel the importance of them perhaps, more than we felt four years ago. We are at a crisis in our national history. The time has come, when we must make arduous and united endeavours for securing our industrial independence, or we shall sink again perhaps for centuries to core. We must struggle and maintain our ancient position among the industrial nations of the earth, or we shall be betraying a sacred trust and be false to our posterity.

I am sure you will not accuse me of exaggerating the gravity of the present situation. I am sure you all feel, as I feel, that if we do not at the present critical time free ourselves from that industrial serfdom into which we have allowed ourselves to sink, we have no hope for the future. This as I said before is *our last chance*.

And now, gentlemen you will permit me to say a few words with regard to the work you have undertaken and the methods by which it can best be done. At a critical juncture in our country's industrial history, the Indian National Congress conceived the happy idea of having an Industrial Exhibition in connection with

their annual gatherings. From the very first, the Indian and the Provincial Governments rendered every assistance in their power to make these Industrial Exhibitions a success, and, I may add that all classes of the Indian population, Hindus and Mohammedans, Englishmen and Parsis, merchants and manufacturers, graduates, rich landlords and humble citizens, have worked harmoniously towards this common object. These annual exhibitions fulfil a double purpose. First they inspire manufacturers with healthy emulation, and enable them to make the products of the different provinces known to all India, and in the second place they enable traders and dealers in articles of daily use to obtain accurate information, and collect articles from all parts of India for the use of purchasers in every province and town. These exhibitions have been a success, but let us not deceive ourselves. Compared with the wealth, the variety, the magnitude of Western products, as I have seen them abroad, the results we have achieved here are meagre indeed. An exhibition like this simply serves to emphasise our backwardness in utilizing the resources at hand. Let us never be satisfied until we attain a standard of perfection that will bear comparison with the Western world. With the sympathetic co-operation of the Government and the quick intelligence of our people there is no reason why such a result may not be achieved within a generation or two.

Last year gentlemen you took a new departure. Not content with these annual exhibitions you held an Industrial Conference and the First Conference was held under the guidance and presidency of my Revenue Minister Mr R. C. Dutta. The Conference arranged that its work should proceed all through the



twelve months instead of being transacted once in the year. It appointed Provincial Industrial Committees at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore, and Nagpur. And it also appointed a permanent Secretary and Under Secretary with head quarters at Nagpur to compile information, to carry on correspondence, and to help the Provincial Committees in their work all through the year. I am glad to find that this central establishment has not gone to sleep over its work, within this closing year the Secretary and Under Secretary have collected subscriptions which have more than covered the year's expenditure, they have published in a handy form a report of the Conference, embodying all the valuable and instructive papers which were read at the time, and they have compiled a Directory,—not complete or exhaustive by any means but a fair beginning—describing different industries in the different parts of India. They have also published a very interesting report of the work done during this year in all parts of India.

Gentlemen, all this is a good outturn of a first year's work but you should not be satisfied with this. A greater progress is expected from you in future years. The weak point in the Conference organisation seems to me that the Central Office is not in sufficient touch with the Provincial Committees and is not able to render sufficient help to those Committees to develop the industries of the different provinces. Besides Provincial Committees you require District and even Town Associations for closer touch with the masses. India is a country of vast distances, and it takes more than a day and a night to travel from Nagpur to some of the provinces. While the Central Office at Nagpur can do much to help the outlying

provinces, the provinces can do more to help themselves. By such harmonious co operation towards a common object, I hope to see the work of the Industrial Conference show a continued progress from year to year. A central organization is needed to co ordinate all the endeavours that are being made in all parts of India to promote home industries, and the Industrial Conference with its central establishment and Provincial Committees, was not established a day too soon.

And now, gentlemen I desire to place a few practical suggestions before you, such as from my own knowledge and experience, occur to me. The first and the most important means of promoting our industries is to spread general education amongst the masses. Great and far reaching changes might be made in the educational system of the country and I am of opinion that no ultimate solution of our problem will be reached until schools have been provided in every village and education is taken to the very threshold of the people until in fact education at least in its primary grades, has been made free and compulsory throughout the land. I am indeed gratified to learn that the Government of India has already under consideration the policy of making primary education free.

The experiment of free and compulsory education is a novel one in this country and yet its novelty must not scare us from our duty. I am not indeed prepared at this time to recommend the example of some of the socialistic communities of the West in providing free breakfasts free baths free boots and everything else but free beds. I have however, endeavoured to intro-

Baroda, and hope to see my people benefitted by it. The measure was being worked with satisfactory results in one part of the State for a number of years. Emboldened by the success of this experiment, I have decided to make primary education compulsory throughout the State and absolutely free.

Of scarcely less importance at this time of the day is the need for Industrial Education. I must confess that it is my recent visit to Europe and to America that has impressed me most with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of nations. In my state without exaggeration that education has undergone a complete revolution in the West within the present generation. The great armaments of the Western nations, their vast armies and navies do not receive greater attention and greater solicitude in the present day than that education in industrial pursuits which befits them for the keener struggle, which is continually going on among nations for industrial and manufacturing supremacy.

Among the nations on the Continent of Europe, Germany takes the lead in industrial enterprise, and among the many technical institutes of that country the Kings Technical High School at Berlin is the most famous. A large staff of professors teach over 1,500 students and applied chemistry in oils and colours as well as dyeing, bleaching, printing on cloths and silks and leather, training are taught on a scale unequalled in any other country on the Continent.

France is endeavouring to foster her industries and manufactures in numerous institutes. The *Musee des Arts et Metiers* of Paris has an extensive collection

of machines and models of machines, and Science and Arts classes are held there on important technological subjects. The French Government manage the Sevres Royal Porcelain Factory and the Gobelins Tapestry Manufactory, and frequent exhibitions are held every year in the Grand and Petit Palais of Paris.

Austria is not far behind, and Vienna has technical schools on a smaller scale, each teaching some branch of a technical art, Italy has her technical academies, and a polytechnic institute, planned after the Cassinova Institute at Naples might serve anywhere to collect the best craftsmen and the most promising apprentices under the same roof and extend the moral influence of the teacher to the pupils. All the experts of art would be collected there, and interchange ideas about their trade deficiencies and trade difficulties.

In London the City and Guilds Technical College, the County Council's Schools of Arts and Crafts under Principal Lethaby and the several Polytechnics are among the many institutions where a practical training in arts and industries is imparted to the people.

The new universities of Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds pay special attention to technical education as the older universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London take up liberal and classical education. The Municipal School of Technology at Manchester is a monument of the enterprise of that great manufacturing town and teaches mechanical, electrical, municipal and sanitary engineering, technical physics, industrial and general chemistry, bleaching, dyeing, printing, and finishing of textiles, paper manufacture, metallurgy and various other subjects. Some students from Baroda

are engaged in the study of acids and alkali manufacture and plumbing and sanitary engineering in this school

But of all the countries which I have recently visited, it is America where I found the highest development of industrial education. Every single State in the United States has a State college, where technical education is given to students *absolutely free*. No fees are charged in these State colleges, because the proper training of citizens in technical arts is considered a matter of national importance, and lands and annual grants are assigned by the States for the maintenance of these colleges. Every State college teaches agriculture and engineering, and also gives some training to the students in military tactics. Other subjects are also taught according to the resources of these colleges.

Besides these State colleges there are some 43 privately endowed technical institutes all over the United States, where engineering is taught in all its branches, civil, electrical, mechanical and marine, architecture, drawing, modelling and textile industry are also among the subjects taught. The great Institute of Technology at Boston, with its 2,000 students, the Armour Institute at Chicago with its 2,000 students, and the Pratt Institute at New York with its 1,000 students are the best known among these privately endowed technical institutes.

I need hardly add that the great universities like Harvard, Yale and Columbia also teach engineering in all its branches, and, what will surprise you more, almost every high school has classes for manual training, comprising carpentry, smithy, and machine shop.

education and general culture which should serve as the necessary substratum for all kinds of learning. Technical training is a supplement but not a substitute, for general education, and should never be turned into a fad.

I have tried to impress on you, gentlemen, the importance of founding technical schools and of introducing manual training in our ordinary schools throughout India. Years will however, pass before this can be done on an adequately extensive scale, so that India can take her legitimate place among the nations of the earth in industrial education and mechanical inventions. It follows, therefore, that for years, and perhaps generations you must send your young men to Europe, America, and Japan for that complete industrial training which they cannot yet receive at home. Make no mistake, and let no time honoured prejudices deter you from travelling to other parts of the earth and receiving that new light, that new culture, those new ideas, which even the most gifted and advanced nations always receive by mixing with other nations, and which India needs perhaps more than any other civilized nation. The healthy results of foreign travels, and of comparing notes with foreign nations, are already manifest in India in every department of life within the last fifty years. Nothing impressed me more upon my recent return to India than the changed attitude of many of my countrymen towards foreign institutions. Men of all ranks have been eager to learn my impressions of Western nations. Such a spirit of enquiry is always healthful if it proceeds from a sincere thirst for knowledge. I was much interested in learning while in America that some two or three thousand students every year go abroad to

absorb the best of Europe in methods in Education and in Commerce, while the National Government sends men to all parts of the world to study the products of other lands. England, Germany and France with all their commercial prestige, do not hesitate to send inquirers to foreign parts. Coming nearer home, we find that hundreds of Japanese young men complete their education in France, Germany, England and America. Such is the desire for knowledge, and the whole-heartedness of the latter, that not only do they acquire a special education in whatever subject they may be engaged, but they also provide themselves with the means of livelihood, not shrinking from the humblest occupations of life.

Japan profited most by sending out her youths to the seminaries of Europe. She owes her present greatness to that illustrious band of her scholar statesmen who imbibed the best principles in the science of politics and the art of government at the universities of Göttingen and Leipzig. She is to day the mistress of the Eastern seas because of her student sailors, who required their first lessons in naval warfare in the docks of Tilbury and Portsmouth. Her battles are fought and won by her soldiers who got themselves initiated into the mysteries of manœuvring and the secrets of stratagem on the plains of the Champ de Mars and Rastadt. And she bids fair to assume the supreme place in the trade of the Orient on account of her scholar financiers who have rubbed shoulders with bankers in the counting houses of London, Berlin and New York. Has the world ever seen a nobler instance of young men architecturing the fortunes of their motherland? Can we conceive a higher example of patriotism for India's sons to emulate? Let us follow

Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry, had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of her slaves, had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy, the story of Athens might have had a different *denouement*. But she wasted her mineral resources and expended large sums in the erection of great temples of worship and art and learning. Far be it from us to suggest any criticism against a civilization which has been the fountain head of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy, no civilization, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of ancient Greece to modern India. Be careful of large expenditures either individually or collectively, which are unproductive. Bid her people forget their caste and tribal prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India. bid them find expression for their religious enthusiasm in practical co-operation for the uplifting of humanity—of the human spirit in the temple of God. Bid them be free men, economically, socially and intellectually and no power under Heaven can long keep them in servitude.

Rome too has its lesson for India. In the complex and far reaching series of disasters which led to the downfall of Rome it would be difficult indeed to designate any one factor as the premier cause of the catastrophe. But of this we may be sure, that the highly centralised and paternalistic Government which developed under the later Cæsars was a potent cause



of weakness to the Empire. Private initiative and individual responsibility gave place to State operation of manufactures and industry. Insufficient currency and military oppression drove the husbandman from his plough and the merchant from his counter. The people looked to the Cæsar for corn and out of the public treasury the hungry were fed, if they were fed at all. The emperor ruled by force of arms, manufactures were operated by a system of forced labour under the strictest surveillance of the State, the civilian was forced into idleness and vice, the masses into pauperism and dejection. The national spirit decayed and Rome fell an easy prey to the ravaging hordes from the North.

At this crucial period in India's emancipation we shall need to keep constantly in mind the failure of Rome. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well to do amongst us to rouse to stimulate and to educate the lower classes. We should help them to help themselves. But ever let us beware of paternalism. Not charity but co-operation is the crying need of the hour.

Let our people as rapidly as possible be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest intelligent, *entrepreneur* class who will be content to organise and manage our new industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

Ancient India too has lessons for us. I have already spoken of India's rich products and her bulk

trade with the West in ancient times. But her mechanical inventions were slow because mechanical work was left to hereditary castes, somewhat low in the scale of society. Our sculpture does not compare favourably with the sculpture and architecture of ancient Greece, and our mechanical progress does not keep pace with the mechanical inventions of modern nations, because our intellectual classes have been divorced for centuries and thousands of years from manual industry, which has been left to the humbler and less intellectual classes. In literature and thought we need fear no comparison with the most gifted nations on the earth. The genius for craftsmanship is also among the people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan classes. Make industrial pursuits the property of the nation instead of the exclusive possession of castes, let the sons of Brahmins and of learned Monks learn to use tools in their boyhood, let every graduate, who feels a call towards mechanical work turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts, and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought.

Turning to the Western world of modern times we discover lessons of the most importance for India at this time. As I look back over the last several centuries which have raised the nations of the West from the darkness of mediævalism to their present high degree of civilization it seems to me that four historical movements are plainly discernible as important factors in that development.

The first movement to which I refer is the capitalistic programme of the last few centuries. I do not need to dwell before such an audience as this upon

the advantages of a capitalistic organization of industries, with its attendant systems of credit banks and exchanges, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution. In the scientific application of capital we still have many things to learn from the nations of the West.

For this reason I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of chairs of economics in our colleges, and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance. Let the brightest of our young patriots be sent to Western universities to master the principles of economic polity.

The second movement in the West is the taking of social political and commercial affairs, which are purely secular in nature, out of the hands of the priests. In the 13th century the Church of Rome and her minions dictated not only matters of religious import, but reached out in many directions to control all the relations of life both individual and collective. For three centuries the popular will struggled against the secular tendencies of the Church until led to open revolt by Martin Luther. Since that revolt the principle has been firmly established and is held with special vigour in America that the realm of the Church is in matters of moral and metaphysical import, and that social political and commercial relationships must be left to the individual consciences of those who participate in them. And in this connection I merely desire to point out that in so far as India's religious ideas tend to keep many of our brightest and best minds out of practical affairs out of the scientific political and commercial movements of the time by so far do those religious philosophic systems stand in the

way of her progress towards economic independence. Why have the people of India been tardy in grasping the scientific principles of Western industrial organisation? I shall not presume to answer the question any length, but content myself with suggesting that we must, as a people, look well to the religious and social foundations of our national life.

Break the monopoly of caste prerogatives and social privileges. They are self-arrogated, and are more inherent in any one caste than commerce, predominance or political supremacy in any one nation. Learn the luxury of self-sacrifice, elevate your brethren of the humbler castes to your own level, and smother all artificial angularities. Always appraise action more than talk, and ever be ready to translate your words into deed.

I desire in the next place to call your attention to the development of national spirit. Throughout Europe for the last two thousand years there has been constant progress in the unifying and the solidifying of national life. Petty States and warring principalities have given place to strong compact and homogeneous nations, each possessing decided national characteristics, and each working through the patriotic impulse of all its people for the preservation of the national ideal. Now I find in the reading that the most frequent criticism offered against us as a people by our critics is that we are disunited, many-minded, incapable of unselfish co-operation for national ends. If this criticism is true, if it is true that India is made up of small, heterogeneous peoples unfitted for independent national existence, then it behoves us as intelligent men and patriots to put in motion the principles

adoption of a national speech and the inculcation of a national spirit.

And the first movement to which I would direct your attention is the development of science in Europe during the last hundred and fifty years. The story of that development reads like a romance of the olden time. Within that period have been developed railway, steam ships, electric telegraphs, the telephone, friction matches, gas illumination, knowledge of electricity in all its multi-form applications, phonograph, Röntgen rays, spectrum analysis, anesthetics, the modern science of chemistry, the laws of molecular constitution of matter, conservation of energy, organic evolution, the germ theory of disease, and many others of the utmost practical importance in modern life.

I submit, my friends, that India's part in this wonderful movement has been shamefully small. Can it be true, as one writer has said, that some "strange fit of arrest, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the people of India to eternal reproduction of old ideals?" I cannot believe that the intellectual power of India is exhausted nor can I believe that her people are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. We have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary and the artistic wealth of world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, and our highest glory, to regain the intellectual supremacy of the ancient days. The atmosphere of the West is throbbing with vigorous mental life. The pursuit of *new* truth is the first concern of every stalwart mind of the West while the mass of our people are content to live stolid conventional lives blindly following the precepts of the fathers rather than emulating

the example they set of intellectual independence and constructive energy I cannot do better than close my remark with those fine lines of the poet Matthew Arnold —

The East bowed low before the blast  
 In patient deep disdain  
 She let the legions thunder past  
 Then bowed in thought again

I would not for a moment have you think, my friends, that I return from the West a convert to Western ideals, or in any sense a pessimist concerning the future of India. There are many defects in the Western civilization that no impartial student of affairs may ignore. The evils that have grown up in the centralizing of population in the great industrial cities constitute, in my judgment, a serious menace to the future of those races. There are weighty problems of administration, of morals, of public health, which the West, with all its ingenuity, has not been able to solve. There is the internal conflict between capital and labour which is becoming more acute as time goes on. Nor can one visit the great commercial centres of the West without feeling that the air is surcharged with the miasmatic spirit of greed. Everywhere the love of display and the sordid worship of material wealth and power has poisoned the minds of the people against the charms of the simple, homely life which the Indian in his love for the things of the spirit, has cultivated since history began.

It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the

West, to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervor of her people. I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this, to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science, impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal, inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business ways of its merchant.



Dr RASH BEHARI GHOSE  
MA DL CIE.



## The Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose.

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Dr. Rash Behari Ghose is the acknowledged leader of the vakil bar in the High Court of Calcutta at the present day, and it is an admitted fact that as a jurist, a scholar, a legislator and a successful advocate, he is the foremost man of his generation among his countrymen. He has been the architect of his own fortune and he had nothing but his own brains to start in life with.

Dr. Ghose is the eldest son of Babu Juggobundhoo Ghose and was born in an obscure village, Tore kon, in the District of Burdwan on the 23rd December, 1845.

Dr. Ghose received his early education at the town of Binkura. While in his sixteenth year he appeared at the Entrance examination in December, 1860, and passed it in the second division. From Binkura, Dr. Ghose removed to Calcutta early in 1861 and prosecuted his further studies at the Presidency College. He showed himself to the best advantage in the First Examination in Arts at which he presented himself in December, 1862, and he headed the list of successful candidates; almost the same success attended him at the B. A. degree examination in January, 1865, and he was the first Indian student who passed the M. A. examination in English with first class honours, which he did in January, 1866.

He passed his Bachelor of Laws degree Examination in 1867

Dr Ghose was enrolled as a vakil of the High Court of Calcutta on the 5th February, 1867

Four years after Dr Ghose appeared at the Honours in Law examination of the Calcutta University and satisfied the high standard required of the candidates at this examination and was declared to have passed with success in 1871. Four years later he was selected to fill the chair of the Tagore professor of law, and the subject he was to lecture upon had been selected to be the Law of Mortgages in India. His lectures which embodied the result of his studies and were of value to the lawyer of the present day were highly useful and interesting and when they came out in a collected shape they took their place in the front rank of Indian text books on the subject. The Indian Legislature had not yet codified the law of mortgages and the need of a text book embodying the principles on the subject and placing the leading cases in an easily accessible form was very great till the passing of the Transfer of Property Act in 1882.

In codifying the Law of Mortgages in India Dr Whitley Stokes, the Law Member of the Supreme Council found Dr Ghose's book of great value to him and he has prominently noticed this fact in his edition of the *Anglo-Indian Codes*.

A lawyer of such profound knowledge both of the theory and practice of law and of such unquestioned abilities as a scholar, cannot fail to be appreciated in

the long run. It is a delight to hear an important argument of Rash Behari Ghose. He is a very strenuous advocate when he is convinced in his own mind that he is in the right, but he is always eminently fair to his adversary and always candid in his relations to the bench. He likes to argue questions of law more than questions of fact.

He was appointed for the first time as an examiner at the B. L. examination of the Calcutta University in 1877, and he was nominated a Fellow of the University in 1879 at the instance of Sir William Markby, then Vice-Chancellor of the University. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1884 and was elected a member of the Calcutta University Syndicate in 1887, in which capacity he remained till 1889. In 1889 he was appointed a member of the Bengal Legislative Council and on the resignation of his seat in the Supreme Council by the late Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter, Dr. Ghose was selected to fill the vacancy in 1891 and was re-appointed for another term in 1893. He was elected President of the Faculty of Law of the University of Calcutta in 1891, and continued to be so till 1895. He was created a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1896 in recognition of his valuable labours in the Supreme Council, where he not only took an intelligent interest in all questions then before the Council and took part in the debates concerning them, but he introduced two bills of his own of a highly important nature. One of these bills provided for adding a section to the Code of Civil Procedure enabling any

person whose immovable property had been sold in execution of a decree to get back his property if within thirty days of the day of sale he put into Court the amount of the purchase money with five per cent in addition. Another bill provided for the partition of joint family property and aimed at preventing strangers coming into portions of a joint dwelling house, if any co-sharer was willing to pay the same price which a stranger had paid for the portion of the dwelling house of which he sought possession. Both these bills were accepted by the Government and have been passed into law.

Dr Ghose has been prominently before the public for the last two years in connection with his political activities and public duties. As chairman of the Reception Committee of the Twenty-second Indian National Congress held in the city of Calcutta in December, 1906, Dr Ghose delivered a speech which would fitly rank with the best production of the English classical language. Three months later Dr Ghose from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council delivered an equally able speech in the course of the budget debate. Dr Ghose gave eloquent expression to a grievance which is widely felt all over India in the matter of Civilian District Judges being mostly below the mark in the discharge of their duties as Civil Judges especially during the first few years of their incumbency in the office of District Judge. It is too early yet to speak of Dr Ghose's labours in connection with the Civil Procedure Code Bill which is now before the Supreme

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with complicated situations in political life. He has not adopted European modes of life or dress and his official dress is the *chupkan* and *choğa* of his countrymen. He married twice but never had any issue and he has now been a widower for many years. He has strong affections for those nearly related to him and he does all that is necessary for their comfort and advancement in life. He goes to bed very late and prolongs his studies till the small hours of the morning. Apart from his professional work he devotes still some hours every day to reading. He works as hard as any living man and stands it. He was to have presided over the deliberations of the 23rd Indian National Congress at Surat but the Congress having proved abortive a convention was formed under his presidency which has drawn up two important creeds for the acceptance of those who would be loyal to the Congress—in event by the way the most important in the annals of politics in India.

Legislative Council We must also notice the remarkable speech which Dr. Ghose delivered in the Supreme Council on the 1st of November 1907, in supporting his vote against the Seditious Meetings Act With a wealth of legal learning, which all his official colleagues had to profess respect and admiration for, he showed how the act then being considered was an exceptional piece of legislation which was not modelled on the jurisprudence of any European country except perhaps Russia, although the seditious agitator was not an unknown figure in those countries and modern Europe was honey combed with secret societies of anarchists and socialists.

Dr. Ghose has completed his sixty second year, but is still in the full possession of his physical and intellectual vigour. He is a man of reformed views though he never aggressively puts them before his countrymen He has availed himself of the long vacations of his Court in visiting France, Italy and England, not to speak of countries nearer India His sympathies with the Congress movement are well known to his countrymen, and on some occasions he had been induced to appear in the ranks of Congress delegates, during the early years of the Congress, and has latterly taken an active part in its deliberations. He presided at the meeting that was held to condemn the administration of Lord Curzon after that erratic pro consul made his celebrated speech at the Calcutta University convocation, and the tract with which he pronounced his indictment on that administration showed that he knew how to deal

## THE SINS OF LORD CURZON.

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*Dr Rish Behari Ghose—Presided at a public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall on the 10th March 1905 to protest against Lord Curzon's damaging characterisation of the people of India in his notorious Convocation Speech of the Calcutta University, and spoke as follows —*

GENTLEMEN,

In rising to address you I must begin with a word or two about myself but I promise to be very brief as an immoderate use of the first personal pronoun appears to me to be much more offensive than an immoderate use of adjectives. The first thing that I have to say about myself is that I cannot claim to be a hero of hundred platforms or even of one nor am I an habitual reviler of authority. I can also solemnly affirm that I have never taken any part in the debates, of the Indian National Congress. And if I am here this afternoon it is not because I take any delight in railing at Government but because I honestly believed that Lord Curzon is lacking in that breadth of vision, tactfulness and flexibility of temper which we naturally expect in one occupying the unique position of an Indian Viceroy. (*Hear Hear*)

His Lordship, if I may say so without impertinence is undoubtedly possessed of great and varied gifts but the Gods are jealous and it would be flattery

that he possesses in any large measure those qualities which are so essential in the representative of His Majesty in this country. Does anybody doubt it? Let him read the Chancellor's speech on the last Convocation day of the Calcutta University. The style of that speech was certainly not Asiatic. Nobody could accuse Lord Curzon of such an offence against good taste. But did it possess the Attic grace and lightness? Decidedly not. The whole speech was in what Matthew Arnold calls the Corinthian style—a style which his Lordship strongly urged our young men to avoid. (*Hear, Hear*)

There was not the least trace of light or sweetness in that speech which was redolent not of the 'olive-grove of the Academy' but of the House of Commons, or perhaps it would be truer to say of the hustings. It was full of sarcasms, full of sneers in which sympathy with the people of this country who may be said to be the wards of England was conspicuous only by its absence.

One of the greatest political figures in England said on a memorable occasion that he did not know how to frame an indictment against a whole nation but Lord Curzon dressed in the Chancellor's robe and a brief little authority was able to frame an indictment not only against the people of India but also against all the various nations of Asia—Asia which gave to the world Gautama Buddha Jesus Christ and Mahomed who may not have taught men how to rule but who certainly taught them how to live and how to die. (*Cheers*)

The truth is the theories of race as Sir Henry Maine tells us, have little merit except the facility



which they give them to some persons half educated writers of doggerels, for instance, to build on them inferences tremendously out of proportion to the mental labour which they cost the builder. And in this context I would venture to ask his Lordship, who is a scholar, if praise is not often given to successful deception in the ancient classical literature of the West on which the youths of Europe are nurtured even at the present day? (*Hear Hear*)

In one of his numerous speeches there are very few brilliant flashes of silence—Lord Curzon said ‘You will never rule the East except through the heart. Is the convocation speech of his Lordship likely to win our affection? And yet it is easy enough to touch our hearts as easy as it is to pass a Validating Act through the Viceroy’s Council.’

One word more before I part with this painful topic. The Indian says Lord Curzon is most certainly a citizen of the British Empire and his Lordship is indignant at the idea that he is a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, but nobody, I think would take such a statement literally any more than his Lordship’s reference to High Court Judges Ministers of Native States and high Executive and Judicial officers in the service of Government. His Lordship however has no reason to be surprised if in moments of spleen such expressions occasionally drop from some of my young and impulsive countrymen for I find that in his Guild hall speech Lord Curzon said ‘It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Damietra and Natal with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and drain the Nile with Indian forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa’

and Siam, with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth.' In this picture drawn by the hand of no mean artist, the Indian stands in the foreground, it is true, but only you will notice, as a tiller of the earth, making it flow with milk and honey for strangers (*Shame*)

I will now pass on to some of the legislative and administrative measures of his Lordship. The history of the present Calcutta Municipal Act is familiar to you all, and I need not relate it, but every one of you may not know that, though Sir Alexander Mackenzie sought to make the Chairman independent of the Corporation in the discharge of his executive duties, we owe the curtailment of the elected element in the new Corporation to Lord Curzon who proposed the reduction as a most effective though 'hitherto unsuggested check' upon the abuses and anomalies which it was said had grown up under the old system. Sir Alexander Mackenzie would have at least left us the shadow of self Government, but to Lord Curzon belongs the credit of reducing it to the shadow of a mere shade. The chastisement administered by his Lordship was thus severer than that proposed by his Lieutenant. The present Municipal Act is now generally admitted to have been a blunder which in such cases, means a good deal.

And this leads me to remark that the proposed partition of Bengal is also an 'unsuggested check,' should I be very wrong in saying on the struggling sentiments and stifled aspirations of the people of Bengal. The alarm which the proposal has created is, I can solemnly assert, perfectly genuine and has spread even to those who are ordinarily in the habit of regarding Government measures as the dispensations of a

mysterious power. The grounds on which our opposition to the threatened partition is based were so fully discussed by Sir Henry Cotton in this very hall a short time ago, that it would be a work of supererogation to re state them on the present occasion. The Viceroy, however, seems to have made up his mind and is determined to divide Bengal. And in connection with this question I may mention that text books for Primary schools are henceforth to be compiled in local dialects because our administrators are particularly solicitous for the welfare of the silent and inarticulate masses who, if they learned to speak at all should they think learnt to speak only in their own native dialects. Whether persons who are not administrators are likely to regard the proposal in the same light is a question which I will not pause to discuss. I may however point out that if our officials were possessed of the gift of seeing themselves as others see them they would command much greater respect. *{Hear, hear}*

The abolition of the competitive test would also seem to be another unsuggested reform. It is true the Public Service Commission presided over by Sir Charles Aitchison reported that in parts of the country where the general educational conditions are more advanced than elsewhere especially in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and the lower Provinces of Bengal a system of an open competition would give satisfaction to some important classes of the community and would meet objections that are justly felt in a system of nomination. But Lord Curzon is wiser than the members of the Public Service Commission wiser than Mr. Maitland wiser than Macaulay, wiser than the distinguished statesmen who

accomplished a similar reform in the Civil Service in England. It may be true that the competitive system has some drawbacks, but experience has shown that it everywhere increases the efficiency of the public service and stimulates the acquisition of knowledge. Above all, as a thoughtful writer who is also a statesman has observed, it strengthens the social feeling for the maxim that the career should be open to the talents. Lord Curzon however, is anxious to 'free the intellectual activities of the Indian people, keen and restless as they are from the paralyzing clutch of examinations for which every idle lad in this country ought I think, to be grateful to him.

And this brings me to the Universities Act, one of the gifts of Lord Curzon to this country which my countrymen refuse to accept, because they regard it with distrust. By this Act the whole system of higher education has been practically placed under official control. This is not all. Lord Curzon's measure will place University education beyond the reach of many boys belonging to the middle class. And here perhaps I may be permitted to remark that to talk of the highest mental culture as the sole aim of university training betrays a singular misconception of the conditions of Indian life. Our students go to the Universities in such large numbers because they cannot otherwise enter any of the learned professions or even qualify themselves for service under Government. I would also point out that education though it may not reach a very high standard is still a desirable thing on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. The fallacy that lurks, in Pope's well known couplet, has been so clearly exposed by Macaulay, Whately, John Stuart Mill and last though not least by Mr. Morley

that I will not occupy your time with discussing it. One word more. The standard of education will never be improved either by Universities Acts or Validating Acts. It can only be done by attracting to this country, as teachers of our youth men distinguished by their scholarships or by their scientific attainments like those who occupy the chairs in European Universities —(Hear, Hear)

The Official Secrets Act is another measure which we owe to Lord Curzon's Government. It was passed in the face of the unanimous opposition of both communities. The *Englishman* the leading newspaper the European and the Indian in this part of the country, thus spoke of the Bill when it was before the Council 'very grave rumours which we mention for what they are worth' credit the Government of India with bringing forward amendments to the Official Secrets Bill which leave its principal defects untouched. What those defects are have been clearly and unmistakably pointed out and they are so serious that the Viceroy speaking from his place in the Legislative Council in December professed to stand aghast at the picture of official Machiavellianism which they reveal. His Excellency also professed to have been moved by these criticisms and he gave a solemn pledge that so far as in him lay the provisions which were so universally execrated would be modified or withdrawn. I believe said Lord Curzon that when the Select Committee meet they will find that their labours are neither so severe nor so contentious as has been supposed and that a satisfactory measure can be placed upon the Statute Book which need not strike terror into the heart of a single innocent person. This meant nothing if it did not mean

that the Government of India has been impressed by the arguments employed against the Bill and that it had decided to meet them in the spirit of real concession. The speech was so interpreted by the Press which, although it was absolutely unanimous in opposing the measure, decided to intermit its criticism and to wait for the promised amendments. It was so interpreted by the leading commercial bodies which have only refrained from addressing Government on the ground that, after the Viceroy's speech, this obnoxious measure was likely to be wholly recast. If it be true, however, that the divulgence of civil secrets is still to be penalized, we have not the slightest hesitation in saying that one at least of its worst features is being retained. The public is in no mood to be treated in such a manner, and it becomes our duty to warn the Government that, if this provision or any of the other cardinal vices of the Bill remain, it must make up its mind to the renewal of agitation which will not slacken until the measure has been withdrawn—or repealed. But Lord Curzon remained unmoved and the Bill was passed into law, for his Lordship seems only to care for the opinion of the martulate masses,—“whose hearts” I may mention in passing, according to Lord Curzon, “had been touched with the idea of a common sentiment and a common aim by the Delhi Durbar and in whom his Lordship has noticed “a steady and growing advance in loyalty during his administration.

“Public opinion in India,” said his Lordship from his place as Chancellor of the Calcutta University “cannot for a long time be the opinion of the public, that is of the masses because they are uneducated and have no opinion in political matters at all.” This probably is the reason why so little attention is paid to

the views of the elected members in the Legislative Councils who sit there merely to play the part of the chorus in a Greek tragedy. But surely we cannot be asked to wait till the masses who do not know what it is to have a full meal from year's end to year's end cease to feel the pangs of hunger and become sufficiently educated to discuss the ways of a foreign bureaucracy. In that case we shall have to wait for that dim and distant future when according to Lord Curzon's forecast, some approach to an Indian nation will have been evolved. His Lordship also said that public opinion if it is to have any weight must be co-ordinated with the necessities and interests and desires of the community who are perhaps hardly capable of formulating an opinion of their own. So long as this co-ordination is not achieved, no weight it would seem should be attached to public opinion in this country, and I imagine that it was on this account that the Government of Lord Curzon paid no attention to the opinion of the educated minority of the Official Secrets Act the Universities Act or the recent Validating Act which compromised the dignity alike of the Legislative Council and of His Majesty's Judges.

And this reminds me that in the course of his Convocation speech Lord Curzon said 'of course in India it is very difficult to create or to give utterance to a public opinion that is really representative because there are so many different classes whose interest do not always coincide for instance the English and the Indians and the Hindus and Mohammedans the officials and non officials the agriculturists and the industrialists. If Lord Curzon is right there can be no such thing as true public opinion even in England for there are many questions on which controversies

between different classes of the community must arise from time to time. To take one example out of many; the interests of the capitalist are frequently in conflict with those of the working man. Is it therefore to be said that public opinion in England is merely sectional? So in this Country questions may arise on which the Englishman may be divided against the Indian, the Hindu against the Mahomedan, the agriculturist against the industrialist but surely where there is no such conflict the Government cannot ignore the opinion of the educated classes as an altogether negligible quantity.

The truth is, Lord Curzon believes whatever he desires and is never troubled with any misgivings. His Lordship also seems to think that he has got, to use a humely phrase, a clean slate and that whatever is, is wrong. Now energy and a zeal for reform are no doubt excellent things in their way, but an excess of either is not regarded as a virtue in a statesman.

Gentlemen, we all admire Lord Curzon's undoubted abilities, his intense devotion to duty and his monumental industry. Simla is certainly no longer a Calcutta. We do not also distrust his love for India which he has told us is, next to his own country, the nearest to his heart, nor are we offended with him because he is rather fond of playing the part of the candid friend. But we doubt with all deference, his possession of those higher qualities of statesmanship which are essential in a ruler of men and in none perhaps more essential than in an Indian Viceroy. The Convocation speech betrays the limitation of his Lordship in a manner not to be mistaken.

To sum up, almost all his Lordship's measures have tended towards strengthening the Simla bureaucracy and Russianising, I think the *Englishmen* for



teaching me the word, our system of administration. This has been specially shown by his attack on Municipal self Government in the case of the Calcutta Corporation, his Education Act, which destroys the independence of the Universities and converts them into a department of Government, and in his measures against the freedom of the Press. The result has certainly not been "a steady and growing advance in the loyalty of the Indian people" of which Lord Curzon spoke with some function to an English audience last year. Optimism, however, is blind. But the moving finger writes, and having writ moves on.

In one of his speeches Lord Curzon spoke of regard for our feelings, respect for our prejudices and deference even to our scruples. But the dominant note of his administration has been a disregard of public opinion and an impatience of criticism which betrays itself conspicuously in almost every word of his Convocation speech. It may be said of him, what Metternich said of an English statesman of the last century, that he is an audacious and passionate marksman ready to make arrows out of any wood.

In the very first speech that Lord Curzon delivered in India he said that he would act in a manner not unworthy of that august and benign sovereign whom he is privileged to represent. He also said that he would spare no efforts to fortify, to diffuse, and encourage that feeling of loyalty to the English throne which holds together the diverse race and creeds of this country. Does his Lordship believe that his last Convocation speech fulfils these promises? His Lordship also said that sympathy shall be one of the key notes of his administration. Is any sympathy discernible in his convocation speech, any feeling for the sentiments of

the people in his proposed partition of Bengal, any sympathy with the poor and struggling student who only seeks to earn a living by passing through the university ? As for the educated classes all that Lord Curzon has to say is that ' there are some people who clamour for boons which it is impossible to give ' And here I may be permitted to remind his Lordship that though we are loyal to England a country to which we owe so much and though sufferance is the bridge of all our ills we have, like other men, senses affections, and passions

I trust I have not done any injustice to Lord Curzon, indeed I think I might without any difficulty have made out a case, but the half is sometimes better than the whole I have not said aught in malice and have carefully avoided rhetoric. Gentlemen, it is always disagreeable to have to speak of ourselves but I am bound to say that I am not one of those who purchase their opinions for an anna or less a day nor am I in the habit of calumniating my opponents who consist exclusively of my learned friends at the Bar I have also never taken part in the manufacture of public opinion but if in spite of my best endeavour to guard myself from those vices against which Lord Curzon raised his warning voice the other day I have done any injustice to his Lordship I can only console myself with the reflection that there are some infirmities from which the average man cannot altogether free himself The contemporaries of superior men observes Goethe may easily go wrong about them Peculiarity discomposes them the swift current of life disturbs the point of view and prevents them from understanding and appreciating such men (*Long Cheers*)

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LALA LAJPAT RAI

## LALA LAJPAT RAI.

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Who is a great man ? asks Lord Beaconsfield, and answers the question himself. It is he who ' affects the mind of his generation ' Judged by this test Lala Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly a great man.

He was born in 1865 of humble but respectable parents in the small town Jagan in the district of Ludhiana.

His father Munshi Radha Krishen Lal, who is fortunately living is an excellent Urdu writer and the author of numerous pamphlets and books. Straight forward and honest, he is a great lover of knowledge. While a student, Lala Lajpat Rai distinguished himself at every stage, his weak health and narrow circumstances notwithstanding. He studied in the Government College at Lahore for two years being in receipt of a University scholarship. Having passed the first certificate examination of Law of the Punjab University he started practice in 1883 when he was hardly eighteen years of age.

Two years later he passed the final examination standing second in a list of thirty candidates. While sympathising with and aiding every movement which made for progress, Lala Lajpat Rai early in his life identified himself with the Arya Samaj in which he found at first ample scope for the exercise of his patriotism, philanthropy and religious zeal. The visit of

Swami Dayanand in 1877 marked a turning point in the social and religious development of the Punjab. By pointing to the pristine purity and simplicity of the Vedis, Swami Dayanand condemned on one hand the corruption and decay which had crept into popular Hinduism, and on the other satisfied the cravings of the national spirit which in those early days sought to reërise itself in the field of social and religious reform. A gospel like the illustrious Swami's was a trumpet call for men to array themselves in opposite camps. Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends were not the men in those stirring days to look on unconcerned as if they had no part to play in the fray. Guru Dutt, Hansraj and Lajpat Rai were constituted Apostles of the new evangel. It was true they were students. But they did the work of grown up men,—preaching, debating and spreading the cause throughout the length and breadth of the Punjab. Hansraj being the eldest of the three counselled, Guru Dutt inspired and Lajpat Rai carried out the plan of missionary operations. In internal constructive work too, the three young men took a leading part.

Having qualified as a pleader Lala Lajpat Rai elected to settle down to practise at Hissar in the Punjab. He practised down to 1892 when he became the leader of the local bar. He also acted for three years as honorary secretary of the Hissar Municipal Board. In 1892 he transferred his practice to the wider field of Lahore whose Chief Court is practically the High Court of the Punjab.

In education, secular and religious, Lala Lajpat Rai has long taken a very active interest. He took part in the foundation of the Dwain and Anglo Vedic College at Lahore, a First Grade College with an endowment of some five lakhs which he was largely instrumental in collecting. He is a vice-president of the institution, and off and on for about a dozen years he has acted as its honorary secretary. He has taken an active part in teaching, having several times acted as honorary lecturer in History. He has made large donations to its funds. He is secretary also to the Anglo Sanskrit College at Jalandar and a member of the managing committees of a number of Arya Samaj schools in the province.

It was chiefly his interest in education that took him to America in 1905, where he visited many educational institutions and took careful notes for future guidance. We may also mention that he gave important evidence before Lord Curzon's University Commission in 1902.

His attention was not confined to matters educational. In other departments of social service as well, the Lala's activity has been marked. He organized relief works and orphanages the outcome of his disinterested love for humanity in general and his community in particular. For several years he has been General Secretary of the Arya Samaj Orphanage at Ferozepur, by far the largest Hindu orphanage in Northern India, having several hundreds of orphans in its books. He is a member of the managing committee of the waifs orphanage at Meerut, also a well

endowed and flourishing institution. In 1897, and again in 1899—1900, he organised a Hindu Orphan Relief movement which succoured over 2,000 orphans, and he acted on both occasions as its General Secretary. The Government availed themselves of his experience in 1901, when he was invited to give evidence before the Famine Commission. His evidence was specially valuable as he had personally inspected the areas largely affected by famine.

In April 1905, on the occasion of the great earthquake in the Kangra District, he organised a relief committee on behalf of the Lahore Arya Samaj, and as Secretary of that committee he visited areas particularly afflicted, collected funds and himself supervised the administration of relief. His philanthropic undertakings—living embodiments of his *Thyaga* and *Paropakara*—testify to his high capacity as financier and organizer.

Lala Lajpat Rai is also a man of extensive business connections. He is a Director of the Punjab National Bank, the first and the largest Indian Bank in Lahore. He is interested in several cotton mills and cotton presses in the Punjab being in several cases on the Board of Directors.

Lala Lajpat Rai claims attention as a man of letters. As a journalist he has for several years edited a vernacular magazine and a vernacular weekly journal, both conducted in the interest of religious and social reform and educational progress. He has published in Urdu biographical monographs on Muzim Garibulh, Sivaji,

Swami Dayanand and Sri Krishna—books which have been widely read and greatly appreciated in the province. He has been in constant touch with several newspapers conducted in English, contributing to them frequently on the leading questions of the day. He has also written in English a life of Pandit Gurudatta Vidyarthi, M.A., the Indian Reformer. He has compiled a concise historical account of Hindu civilisation down to the commencement of the Mussalman period.

Lala Lajpat Rai has always felt drawn towards politics.

It was in 1888 A. D. that Lala Lajpat Rai joined the Indian National Congress movement when it met at Allahabad under the presidency of Mr George Yule.

In 1905, the Indian National Congress Committee having recognised in him an austere, sincere and selfless devotion to his country and her cause, selected him as one of its delegates to place before the British public the political grievances of the Indian people. The Indian Association of the Punjab voted Rs. 3,000 for the expenses of his tour in England; but he who had himself disbursed money for philanthropic and patriotic objects would have none of the money but gave it back to the support and benefit of students, and met his expenses out of his own pocket. In the political campaign carried on in several parts of England the Indian representatives brought home to the mind of the Britisher the



evils of unsympathetic bureaucratic government under which India was labouring and pleaded in eloquent language, adducing facts and figures in support of their contention, the cause of the half-starving and half dying people of India.

In the deliberations of the Indian National Congress which assembled in 1905 at the holy city of Benares under the presidency of Mr. G. K. Gokhale, he took a leading part, and supported a resolution on the 'repressive measures in Bengal'.

The greatest fact in Lala Lajpat Rai's career and the one which has made his name a household word in every part of India is his Deportation. Lala Lajpat Rai true manner that he is read the signs of the coming storm, and the letter which he handed over to the editor of the *Punjab* a few hours before his arrest remains the most remarkable example of political prescience which has ever emanated from the pen of any Indian politician.

The notorious Partition of Bengal was the precursor of a new political phenomenon in India—the birth of the nascent Nationalism. This infant political growth, the Anglo Indian bureaucrats could not and would not tolerate. Of the ways and means they devised to strangle the national movement one was to strike a blow at the influence of popular leaders. Unpopular measure like the Colonization Act which has since been wisely disallowed by the Viceroy, had stirred popular feeling which vented itself in public meetings. Of these meetings the

Lala according to Mr John Morley himself attended only two meetings, not on his own initiative but at the express request of the people. When the Lala who was sent for by the people to explain the object of the unpopular measures of the Government, was on his way to the meeting, he was intercepted by the local Satrap and the Superintendent of Police, and advised not to deliver any lecture on pain of forcible dispersal of the meeting and the loyal Lala Lajpat Rai accordingly informed the assembled people of the intentions of the magistrate and caused them to disperse peacefully. The law is glorified when thieves and robbers, decoits and murderers and persons of moral and spiritual depravity are visited with condign punishment. But when the flower of a nation are chosen for arbitrary punishment, the law degenerates into a savage weapon. Lala Lajpat Rai is undoubtedly among the choicest spirits of the age and of the race. Like Captain Dreyfus, he is an innocent victim of the rulers of the land.

His letter addressed to the *Punjabee* a few hours before his secret arrest and dark deportation seems *providential*, but his appeal and warning to his Bengal friends assembled in the Benares Congress is *prophetic*. 'If you have adopted this manly and vigorous policy, be prepared for the logical consequence (cheers). Don't conceal your heads don't behave like cowards. Once having adopted that manly policy, stick to it till the last. The one reads like an unconscious autobiography but the other fully

lys have the straightforwardness of a mind standing four square to all the winds that might blow. Questions without number were put in the British Parliament to the biographer of Gladstone and Burke, but these have been treated with scant courtesy. Under great pressure, Mr. Morley first tried diplomatic methods of persuasion to inspire confidence in the persistent members of parliament who are interested in Indian progress, and these proved futile. It was only after his conference with Sir D. Ibbetson "one of the ablest and most experienced Lieutenant-Governors," that he gave out the grounds on which he sanctioned this extreme and quite uncalled for action.

In the deportation of the Lala—an idealist, enthusiast, *littérateur*, practical philanthropist, bold politician, accomplished lawyer, cool headed financier, cautious investor, earnest religious preacher and devout Arya Samajist, politics in India has entered upon a new phase and will, ere long, develop into a force which it will be impossible for any human power, armed though it be with the most drastic laws and a formidable array of soldiers and a magazine of shots and bullets, to change, and on the right evolution of the collective and mutually interdependent forces brought into play, the salvation of India depends.

It is a happy sign of the times that this fact is recognised even in the highest quarters.

## IX

At any rate, it is a matter for rejoicing that the Government of India have at last thought fit to restore the spotless and illustrious Lala to his proper sphere. The Government of India, more than the happy Lala, deserve congratulation on an act of justice for which there should have been no occasion.

# THE ALL-INDIA SWADESHI CONFERENCE.

## A GREAT SPEECH

### Lala Lajpat Rai on the Situation

Mr President, brother Delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I do not know how to thank you and my countrymen at large for the great kindness which you and they have shown to me. It is impossible to give an adequate expression to the feelings of gratitude and thankfulness that the wonderful reception accorded to me here, there, and everywhere, have evoked in me ever since my return from my short and enforced exile. I have been the fortunate recipient of so many manifestations of love and regard from my countrymen of all classes, that words seem to be too poor a vehicle to convey my feelings of gratefulness to them. Even if I had a hundred lives to sacrifice in the service of my country, they could furnish but poor opportunities of my doing adequate justice to the honor and esteem that I have been shown the last five weeks. They have touched the deepest chords of my heart, and have brightened my vision of the future of my countrymen. The extraordinary outburst of feeling for individuals which has found expression during the last two years throughout the length and breadth of our country, is undoubtedly a striking and new spectacle. It cannot be satisfactorily explained by the public services of these men although some of them have rendered eminent services to the country. It cannot be said of all and least of all, in humble individual like myself

In my eyes, this outburst of feeling has a deeper reason than the services of individuals. It is one indication of the growing consciousness of the National Unity. India was hitherto and to be only a Geographical expression. It has now begun to aspire, under the guidance of an All Wise Providence, to a unified political existence and to a place in the comity of nations. The Congeries of nations that are said to inhabit this vast territory have, after a long period of disunion and disorganisation begun to realise that after all they are one people with one common blood running through their veins with common traditions, a common history and a common faith in their future. It is true that the communities are divided from communities, sects from sects and Provinces from Provinces, by differences of religion language and customs. The wave of Western civilization, however, with its unifying influences, is levelling down these differences and creating a community of interests and feeling which is the precursor of a new dawn in our life. Sometime ago people began to look back and find that with all their differences, they were after all the branches of a common tree, the descendants of the same stock, the inheritors of the same civilisation and with local differences only. Practically they were the speakers of the same language. Even Mahomedans taken as a whole could not say that in their traditions languages and customs, they had nothing in common with the Hindus. This looking backwards made them compare their present position with the position of other people in other parts of the world and led them to look forward. Thus was awakened the national consciousness which, for want of greater occasions has begun to exhibit itself in demonstrations and orations in honour of individuals who have even by slight sacrifices

earned the distinction of being the servants of the country. Interpreting these omissions in this sense, I feel I have every reason to rejoice over them.

I join with you in congratulating myself as being the fortunate recipient of these marks of honour and respect for which I thank you most sincerely, and through you, the other classes of my countrymen.

It has however, been dinned into my ears ever since I reached Lahore and was once more a comparatively free man that a large number of my countrymen had betrayed me that my deportation was due principally to Mahomedan machinations, that a number of Hindu gentlemen also had combined, consciously or unconsciously to bring about what they considered to be my ruin and the ruin of the cause that I had at heart, that a large number of my friends and co workers deserted me in the hour of my troubles, and purchased their safety, either by ignoring me or by disowning me and my principles. I am told that under the circumstances the political amelioration of the country is a hopeless task for which I need waste no more of my time and energies. I am further told that in the light of the experience of the last six months, it is futile to base my hope of political salvation upon the union of Hindus and Mahomedans that such union is impossible that our people are an inert mass having no life to assert and too ignorant to understand their rights, and that the leading men are mostly corrupt selfish ease loving and cowardly that while talking loudly of political emancipation and liberty they are wanting in the courage of their convictions and are not prepared to suffer for their ideal that the political ideas that obtained in the educated party,

and their conception of political rights were entirely foreign, borrowed bodily from the West without any reference to their suitability to the genius and traditions of the nation, and that under the circumstances, the best interests of our people lie in directions other than political, and that we should be contented with the sort of Government we have got, and should studiously avoid doing nothing that may be offensive to the authorities

The incidents of the last three days have unfortunately lent colour to these pleadings and I am told that now at any rate I should have no doubt as to the incapacity of my countrymen for the political institutions of the West. This however, is the language of despair to which I am not prepared to listen. Firstly as to the misfortunes of the last six months, I cannot admit that they were entirely due to Mahomedan machinations. I am certain that the so called Mahomedan machinations were supported and backed by a number of Hindu informers and sycophants and it is not right to condemn a whole community for the sins of a few. It cannot be doubted for a moment that the country as a whole stood furly well by the victims of official oppression. To me it is a marvel that such was the case, and that the number of traitors and black sheep was not larger than it was found to be. I have had numerous evidences of sympathy of Mahomedans other than the limited class of title hunters and place hunters and I still believe that with the spread of education among Mahomedans the combination of Hindus and Mahomedans for political purposes is not an impossibility.

But how can I ever forget the numerous marks of grief and sympathy which I read on faces of the



Mohomedan dhobies (washermen) and other low caste people when they happened to pass by me during my walks in the Fort at Mandalay? Why, I saw some of them weeping and shedding tears out of sympathy for me. The authorities tried their level best to prevent my countrymen at Mandalay from showing any marks of respect towards me, but I can never forget that there were numbers who did not, up to the last day yield to this pressure and continued to salame me. The sympathy that I read on the faces of my countrymen while passing by me at Mandalay has left deep impression on my mind and that impression has been still deepened by what I have seen and felt since my return to my own native land.

I do not believe, gentlemen that the idea of Hindu and Mohomedan unity is only a phantom. But even if it were so, are we, the representatives of 20 crores of Hindus in India to take things quietly as they are, and allow our people to sink deeper and deeper into misery which can only lead them and us to complete national death which is inevitable, if the existing political and economic conditions are to continue for any length of time? I on my part gentlemen decline to give way to pessimism. Mine is a religion of hope and faith. I believe in struggling a righteous, stern and unyielding struggle. I am quite prepared for defeats and repulses. The colossal difficulties in the way of success the discouraging circumstances relied on by advocates of inactivity do not overwhelm me. In fact I am inclined to take them as a greater reason for a more determined struggle according to my political creed every repulse ought to furnish a fresh starting point for a

The political principles, which I believe is very strongly are that nations are by themselves made and it is righteousness that exalteth the nation.

Under these circumstances, my countrymen, my humble advice to you is to be neither nervous nor hysterical, to maintain a dignified firm manly, but righteous attitude, amidst difficulties and storms and to continue the struggle in the light of experience gained

With a heart for any fate,

Still relieving still pursuing

Learn to labour and to wait

Now a word as to our mutual relations True to their instincts and traditions our enemies are trying to bring about schism amongst the patriotic party Unfortunately, their efforts have already met with success, and a deplorable schism has already taken place which is extremely painful and humiliating to every patriotic Indian For some time to come, the efforts of every true son of India will have to be directed to bring about a reconciliation amongst brothers that have for the present parted The latest move is to play the Moderates against the Extremists and *vice versa* To tell you the truth, I do not know whether these words truly represent the principles of the parties that are called after these names I for one do not like these names But if these words are to stick to us I would beg of my Moderate friends not to play into the hands of the enemies for to do so will be in the words of the Hon ble Mr Gokhale to make confusion worse confounded It may be that some of the so called Extremist methods are not to their liking but for that reason to give them over to the enemy and to force them into

the position of perpetual opponents by slighting them or holding them to the persecution of the Government and to the ridicule of the Anglo Indian will not be wisdom. It would eventually involve us in difficulties and controversies which might exhaust all the time and energy available for national work. To my Extremist friends I would respectfully appeal not to be impatient of slowness of age and voice of practical experience. It will be an evil day for the Hindus the Mahomedans and the Parsis when they allow their national characteristics, to be entirely swept away by Western manners and methods. Let us never forget that we are not an upstart people having no traditions and no past to boast of. Respect for age regard for seniority, reverence for ties of blood and relationship, constitute the most valuable heritage bequeathed to us by our forefathers and we shall be going backward rather than forward in exchanging them for the noisy and at times undesirably pushful manners of the West. In any case it is absolutely necessary to observe and maintain discipline in public life. Without it we may be only confounding chaos with progress. I would therefore, beg of you to do nothing which would hamper the growth of responsible public life in the country. My Moderate and Extremist friends will not I hope misunderstand me. I do not say that they have done anything to deserve my remarks. Mine is only a danger signal.

One word more and I have done. The country is now in the grip of a dire famine the nation that we aspire to serve mostly lives in huts and cottages and is in great distress. The Government is doing its duty or at any rate professes to do it in providing relief to the unfortunate victims of famine. Shall we

the blood of their blood, lay behind and do nothing to relieve the distress of the aged and the poor? The highest dictates of patriotism require that our sympathies should go forth to the help of the destitute and the wretched, and that by sharing what has been given to us with our countrymen in distress we should conclusively establish our claims to speak for them, and to demand their co-operation with us in the ensuing struggle. Our claims to their regard and love should be based upon substantial services and not merely on lip sympathy expressed in paper resolutions. I, therefore, appeal to my friends and co-workers to put their shoulders to the wheel, to organize a non-official famine relief campaign in the famine affected Provinces to collect funds, and to carry sympathy and help to all homes and places in need of the same. The young the aged and the women specially called to us for help, and it will be a shame if we decline to respond to this call and spend the whole stock of our energies in academic controversies and wordy warfare. I know that work is tremendous and that the difficulties are still more so. But it affords the most useful and most effective training for disinterested patriotic life. Even partial success in this direction will be a very valuable moral asset, and an object lesson to those who have to continue the work after us.

At the conclusion of his address the Lal referred to the *Swadeshi* movement and said that he had been *Swadeshi* all his life. They were indebted to the Bengalis for having installed *Swadeshi* on its proper pedestal and created an atmosphere in their province which had permeated all classes and unless they tried to extend the scope of *Swadeshi* irrespective of caste and creeds they could not hope for greater

success. The spirit of Swadeshi ought to prevail in all departments of life, subject to the one condition that whatever they had to learn from the West in order to maintain progress and secure prosperity they need not be ashamed to learn. There was no use in going back. They could only go back consistently with their national interest, otherwise it would be suicidal. They could not but be affected by predominant civilisation. They must learn to fight out the battle for nationality in modern terms under modern conditions and try to use those weapons which were used against them.



BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL.

## Babu Bepin Chandra Pal.

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It was in that historic year, 1858, which witnessed the birth of that ever memorable rise of the Indian Sepoys and of the concomitant concession by the late Queen Victoria of the Magna Charta—the well known Proclamation—that Bepin Babu was born in Sylhet District in Bengal. His father Babu Ramachandra Pal was a Vakil and, by dint of his abilities, soon rose to eminence in the profession, becoming the leader of the local bar. His public influence which was very great, his vast knowledge and his legal talents were recognised by the Government, which as a token thereof, appointed him a District Munsiff.

Bepin Babu was the only son of Babu Ramachandra. The child was very precocious, as such he took very great interest in study, while yet an infant. He passed the Matriculation Examination, while yet very young. Thereupon his father took him to Calcutta to have him educated there. While he was being educated here, he was inspired by the thrilling lectures of Keshava Chandra Sen on Brahmoism and as a consequence embraced that religion. He was by that time only eighteen. His father and other relatives and friends interested in him left no stone unturned to dissuade him from joining the new religion, but in vain. Enraged at the obstinate conduct of his son, Babu Ramachandra resolved not even to see the face of his only son, and he thus remained for about 10 years. Nay, he went further and made a will by

which he deprived his son of his right to his estate. Come what may, Bepin Babu would not sacrifice his conscience and principle, and was as firm and resolute in his conviction and conduct as he was true to his conscience to the last.

This domestic incident which put Bepin Babu to no small pecuniary difficulty, stood in the way of his further prosecuting higher studies.

Some years after being much pleased with his son's strength of mind and courage of conviction Babu Ramachandra who was now on his death bed sent for his only son and made over to him his estate worth about 25,000 Rupees.

Bepin Babu was first employed as the Headmaster of a High School in Cuttack in Orissa. He was by that time only twenty one. Here he spent his time as a Schoolmaster for about three years. He then went to his native place Sylhet which was badly wanting in education and there established a High School founded scholarships and awarded them to many poor and deserving students thereby bringing education within the easy reach of every poor boy in the District. But as the funds of the School were exhausted within five or six years he had ultimately to give up his undertaking. He then served as a Headmaster of the High School in Bangalore founded by Ru Bahadur Arcot Narayanram Mudaliar of North Arcot which flourishes even to day. There he spent about two years. It was by this time that he married a good and revered lady of the Brahmo Samajist cult. He afterwards returned



to Calcutta where he was appointed Librarian to the City Library on Rs 100 per mensem. It was here that he studied and became well versed in the literature of the West imbibing its noblest ideals. By this time his noble wife breathed her last. Thereupon he renounced the world, wandered for some time with the saintly sadhus, and acquired from them a furly accurate knowledge of Sanskrit, the soul inspiring teachings of the Vedānta and of Vāishnavism. It was thus that he acquired his vivid knowledge of the ancient literature of India.

At the instance of some of his friends, he married the widowed niece of the leader of Bengal—Bābu Surendranāth Banerjee—who has borne him three sons and four daughters.

When the late Bābu Kālī Chāran Banerjee lectured on Christianity in the City Hall of Calcutta, attacking and denouncing the tenets and creeds of Brahmoism, it was Bepin Bābu who defended Brahmoism in a series of six lectures which on account of their thrilling eloquence, weighty reasoning, profound knowledge and deep conviction brought him to the forefront of reformers in Bengal. Even before this his extensive culture and remarkable eloquence had been known on a humble scale in the political field when the Indian National Congress met for the first time at Madras under the distinguished presidency of the late Mr. Badrudin Thālaljee. A thrilling speech which Bepin Bābu delivered, upon the Arms Act still holds a very high rank in Congress oratory.

has been serving his Country as a preacher of religious, social and political reforms. Ever since the notorious Partition scheme of Bengal, he has been looming large in the eyes of the public as a dauntless champion of the people's rights and as an indefatigable, ardent and zealous fighter for his people and his people's cause. It was he that founded the leading nationalist organ *Bande Mataram*, of which he was for sometime the distinguished joint editor with Babu Arbinda Ghose.

Ever since the memorable Partition of Bengal, he has been fighting in right earnest, watched by the Police and suspected by the bureaucratic alien Government for national regeneration by means of establishing national schools and colleges, Arbitration Courts, Boycott propaganda, and Swadeshi spirit. To understand his vast culture, thrilling eloquence and political ideas and aspirations one has to study his "*New spirit*" which is available to the public, and also his "*Madras lectures*".

But the crowning incident of his life, the incident which revealed the man and showed to the world the stuff of which he is made was his incarceration in connection with the "*Bande Mataram*" prosecution when our distinguished countryman, Babu Arbinda Ghose was prosecuted for sedition, Bepin Bibu was called upon to give evidence for the case. When he was in the dock and questioned he declared that he considered the prosecution detrimental to the interests of the country and that therefore he had conscientious objections to take part in the case. For this, he was sentenced

to simple imprisonment for six months but he gave a glorious object lesson in passive resistance. Friend and foe sympathised with him and a public meeting was held at Calcutta, under the presidency of Babu Surendranath Banerjee, the leader of Bengal, to give public expression to the sympathy that was being widely felt for him. Subscriptions of over 1 000 Rs were collected mainly by young men and sent to his wife. During his prison life he is reported to have written two books, one in English on 'Hinduism' and another in Bengali on 'Brahmnygnasa' such as Bepin Babu, a splendid speaker, a well read scholar, an intensely religious and patriotic man, who, in short one of the first assets of Mother India and may he long be spared.

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal.

Madras Congress 1887.

Arms Act.

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal being called upon to second the Resolution said —

Mr President and brother Delegates, I thank you, sir, for the very great honour you have done me by calling upon me to second this Resolution and I do so with great pleasure. I know sir that I have not the ability, the experience and the weight of authority with which the seconders and supporters of the previous Resolutions have spoken, but if unselfish motives go for anything then I do claim that I am the fittest person to second this Resolution (*Laughter and applause*). When my friends Babu Sutender Nath Bannerjee (*applause*) and Mr Norton (*applause*) proposed the reconstitution of the Legislative councils, evil minded persons might impute some selfish motives to them, (*applause and laughter*) because I am sure that if, during our life time and Mr Bannerjee's our dreams of a reformed representative legislature be ever realized he will be about the first man that will be elected to it (*laughter and applause*). And Mr Norton has done so much for Madras and Madrasese and he is so very popular here, (*applause*) that I am sure that if our Madras friends have a representative legislature of their own, Mr Norton will be as much welcome to a seat there as any native gentleman of equal qualifications (*laughter*). When Rājā Rāmpāl Singh proposed the Resolution

regarding the volunteer question, I will not undertake to say that he could completely shut his eyes to the fact that if ever he had corps we would vote him our captain, (laughter and applause), and when Mr Subramaniam and Mr Kallachari Binnerjee proposed the divorce of the Judicial and Executive functions of magistrates, I am not sure that they were not aware of the fact that if they succeeded in that Resolution their professional duties would be made much easier and simpler than now (applause) But gentlemen I do not think that even my rankest enemies could attribute motives to me (chuck) The Resolution which I now press for your acceptance, if accepted not only by you all but by the Government also, will bring me no especial good, for I am sure, gentlemen that I shall never have the unpleasant necessity of using my arms in my life (laughter and applause) except my steel pen and my sharp tongue (laughter) which I believe are not included in the schedule of the Arms Act Allow me to say sir that the admirable tact and judgment, with which you have conducted this meeting (applause) under very difficult and trying circumstances, have been thrust entirely in the shade by the wonderful sagacity you have just displayed in calling upon me a puny & weak, Bengalee to second the prayer of the congress for the repeal of an Act which does not stand in the way of my personal ambition or enjoyment (applause) and which if repealed will serve no personal ends But there may be ladies and gentlemen present here who may not see my fitness to second this Resolution as clearly as the President does and they may, therefore like to know what right have I to second this Resolution? My right consists in my sincere loyalty to the British Government (applause) My

motives for seconding this Resolution are to be found in my earnest, ardent, and sincere desire for the welfare of the Government under which I live. I am one of those who believe in the workings of a benign Providence in human history, but never did I so plainly recognise the hand of Divine mother in the present history of my beloved country as when I entered this vast and sacred assembly and took my seat there as an humble delegate of this congress. As I stand upon this platform and looking around me, see this immense crowd of men—the Mahratta, the Punjabee, the North westerner, the Parsee, and the Bengalee—sitting in the midst of hospitable Madrasees, the beaming faces, the deafening cheers, the flow of brotherly love, the exchange of friendly greeting, the eloquent smile, the hearty handshake, the maddening enthusiasm, and the earnest patriotism of this vast assembly—all combined to inspire me with a feeling of gratefulness like like of which I could never experience elsewhere and when standing on this platform and even while sitting here, in the midst of this vast assembly, many a time has my heart gone out to my God to offer Him its humble tribute of gratefulness for all the blessings which he has in store for my beloved fatherland and the faintest indications of which are to be seen here in this hall (applause). And I thank Him for having brought the English Government to this country to work out our salvation (applause). Such being my feelings and I have not the slightest doubt that such are also the feelings of each and all of my brother delegates here (applause) is it anything strange that I should be loyal to the British Government? I utter the barest truth when I say that I am loyal to the British Government. It is not the language of dissimulation. I hate dissimulation.

(applause) It is not the language of false diplomacy. I hate that diplomacy which is not based on truth (applause). I am loyal to the British Government, because with me loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country. I am loyal to the British Government because I believe the British Government to be an instrument in the hand of God for the salvation of my people (applause). I am loyal to the British Government because I love self government (applause). I am loyal to the British Government because I love this congress. I confess, sir, that I am a radical and a democrat, but strange to say my radicalism and my democracy have both combined to make me a sincere well wisher of the British Government (applause). And gentlemen the love that I have to the British Government compels me to condemn strongly the suicidal policy enumerated in the Arms Act and to call for its repeal. The Resolution which I am here to second seems, sir, to be slightly different from those that have gone before it. The supporters of those resolutions appealed on behalf of the people to the Government, but I appeal on behalf of the Government to itself. It is not for me to say sir that this Act does not operate to the injury of the people. When I remember that year after year ravages of wild beasts are increasing with alarming rapidity when I remember that thousands of my countrymen and countrywomen are every year killed by tigers and leopards, when I find poor cultivators everywhere appealing to Government to protect their crops from the ravages of wild animals—for the Arms Act has deprived them of the means by which they could protect their crops themselves—when I say I look to all these facts how can I say that this Act

may offer sixty crores instead of sixty lacs for the defence of the empire, ten thousand Jubilee demonstrations may be organized the Government may publicly acknowledge the sincerity of these loyal demonstrations, British newspapers may trumpet them forth to the whole world, but the question is will foreigners believe, will Russia believe in the truth and sincerity of these demonstrations in the face of the Arms Act? Would she not put the unpleasant question if the people of India are loyal, and if you believe them to be so why do you require the disarming of the entire population by an Arms Act to maintain your position there? So long as this Arms Act exists nothing will convince outside people that the British Government feel themselves strong in the loyalty of their subjects. You know sir, that the Russian War partly set considerable stir by the supposed disaffection and disloyalty of the Indian people, and if ever Russia makes bold to invade India the Arms Act I repeat, will be her chief temptation. Her Majesty has most solemnly declared that in our contentment she will find her principal strength. Why then do her Indian Government ignore our loyalty and our contentment and set up the flimsy bulwark of a disarming law for the safety of her Indian empire? The policy of the Arms Act sir is wrong in principle, injurious in its effect and is simply suicidal to the Government and as such in the interest of that very Government whose safety it seeks to secure it should at once be repealed. (Long and prolonged cheers)





MR. A. RASUL

## ABDUL RASUL.

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The dream of Indian unity is a dream cherished by every sincere well-wisher of this country. Wherever we come across a muhamadan seeing eye to eye with his brother Hindu in matters concerning the country's weal, the heart of every true patriot ought to be gladdened. As one of the most enlightened and highly cultured of such mahmadians, we give the following short sketch of the life of Mr. A. Rasul.

Moulvi Abdul Rasul was born in the month of April 1872. His father, Moulvi Golam Rasul was a Zemindar of Gumark in the Tipperah district. While quite young Mr. Rasul lost his father and was thrown on the sole care and guardianship of his mother. The family was removed to Kishoregunge where he was sent for instruction to a village school. Later on, he joined the Government School at Dacca and from there passed his Entrance examination in 1888. He continued his studies in the first year class for a few months, when his mother was advised to send him to England for education. The advice was ultimately acted upon and Abdul Rasul, then hardly 17, left for Liverpool in 1889. He studied at Liverpool for a few years, with a view to going up for the Matriculation examination. He then went to London where he joined the King's college. He thence went to Oxford and matriculated in 1892. He took his B. A. degree in 1896 from St. John's College. He also took the M. A. degree in 1898. In the same year he was called to the bar from

# Barisal Conference.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr A RASUL, *Bar-at law*

FELLOW DELEGATES,—I thank you most heartily for the great, the very great honour which you have conferred upon me by electing me to preside over your deliberations this year. I appreciate the honour all the more as I am the first Bengal Mahomedan in whom such great confidence has been placed and upon whom such high distinction has been conferred by the people of United Bengal. No honour can be greater, no distinction higher than that which comes spontaneously from the heart of a great people. I feel the proudest moment of my life has come, when I find myself seated here as the President of our National Assembly.

Since this great assembly met last year at Mymensingh, one year has passed—But what a year—*annus mirabilis*—it has been for us the people of Bengal. It has been a year in which we have seen how an alien bureaucracy has lorded it over patriotism, how it has trampled upon the cherished rights and privileges of the people. It has been a year in which we have seen how deeply sensible a nation may become of the calamities that may be brought upon it by foreign domination and also what a nation can do when it is united.

Both before and after the last Conference the whole nation in a trembling voice was asking the

question "Are we really going to be divided?" We know in what rude and spiteful manner that question has been answered by Lord Curzon. We know he was determined to divide us, but we never dreamt of the manner in which he was to do it. The quarrel over the Indian Army question had been going on for some time. Lord Curzon in his usual supercilious manner looked upon Mr Brodrick as one of the members of the Ministry of Incompetents and considered the fight between Mr Brodrick and himself as that between a pigmy and a giant, and that the former would be bound to give in. He thought he had simply to threaten resignation then all the Incompetents at home would go down on their knees before him the only clever and intelligent member and the only hope of the Conservative party, and beg of him not to leave the helm of the Indian Empire which without him would go wrong and that they would in short submit to anything he dictated to them. But Lord Curzon was after all not infallible. He was sadly mistaken. He found that in his estimate of self he was wrong. His resignation was accepted with pleasure. To his consternation and mortification the Incompetents did not go down on their knees but on the contrary were defiant and had already got his successor ready. After such a great humiliation the general opinion both Indian and European was that Lord Curzon would not think of carrying his partition scheme into effect and his successor would be more considerate and not likely to override the wishes of the people. His resignation under the peculiar circumstances of the case was tantamount to a dismissal. Oh what a fall! He was vanquished but his doom reserved him for more wrath. What though the Viceroyalty was lost! All was not lost! The unconquerable will the study

of revenge immortal hate for the Bengalis was not lost. Knowing what a half hearted support Mr Brodrick had given to his Partition Scheme Lord Curzon was afraid that his successor might never carry it through, so he must do it himself, before leaving India. Stirred up with envy and revenge, he was racking his brain as to how soon he could bring about the ruin of the Bengali people. It did not take him long. The date of the partition was soon announced, he went through the farce of passing a bill through the Supreme Council at Simla in the absence of the Indian members and the Partition was proclaimed on the 16th October 1905 in spite of and in the teeth of the opposition of the whole nation. He knew that unless he did this in great haste his long cherished object of breaking up the unity of Bengal would be lost for ever. Think of the audacity of the man who did not hesitate to defy the authority of the Parliament to whom the Secretary of State had given a solemn pledge that nothing would be done till all the papers regarding the Partition Scheme were laid on the table of the House. The country was ringing with shouts of protest from one end to the other when on being asked by the Secretary of State to postpone the partition till Parliament had an opportunity of considering the matter he informed the Secretary that the so called agitation was subsiding. If a man in the position of a Viceroy representing the King Emperor could be guilty of such misrepresentation of the true state of things he was capable of doing any thing. This is another instance of how some Englishmen in spite of their education birth and position in life after crossing the English Channel lose their sense of justice and propriety and conscience in their dealings with other races whom they consider inferior to them.

What made Lord Curzon so bitter against the people of Bengal? Being pedantic and a great admirer of his own abilities he thought he was perfect and like a constitutional monarch never did wrong. Coming out as the Viceroy of India he expected admiration from all quarters as a great man of letters and a great statesman, and adverse criticism he never expected. He knew very little about Indian character. He knew nothing about Bengal and its people beyond what he had read about them in essays or scurrilous reports of the special correspondents of some rabid journals. But he soon discovered that in education and intelligence at any rate the despised Bengalis were quite equal if not superior to the people of his own race. That a subject race should be in any way equal to the ruling race upset his equilibrium. It was in Bengal that his unpopular measures were most severely criticised. It was here he discovered that the press was most powerful and that Calcutta was politically nearly as strong as London. He knew what Bengal said to day the rest of India would say to-morrow. Lord Curzon got alarmed at the rapidity with which the people of Bengal were progressing politically. It dawned upon him that unless the Bengalis were curbed unless their alarmingly increasing political power was crushed unless the growing unity between the Hindus and Mohammedans was nipped in the bud the British bureaucratic rule in India would be at an end. So he was determined come what may to cleave Bengal in twain. Well after all let us congratulate ourselves that Lord Curzon considered that in the Bengali he found a foeman worthy of his steel.

It was not for administrative purposes nor was it for the purpose of relieving the Lieutenant Governor

of Bengal that Bengal had been divided into two provinces, but it was simply to wreak Lord Curzon's vengeance on the too harmless and law-abiding people of Bengal that they had been separated from their kith and kin and placed under two different Governments whose chief object will be to aim death blows at the solidarity and homogeneity of the entire Bengal nation by introducing different laws through their different legislatures. This is not our opinion alone, but it is shared by many far-minded Anglo-Indians, both official and nonofficial. If partition was at all necessary for administrative purposes which we by no means admit there were several alternative schemes which would have at once relieved the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and left the Bengali-speaking people intact.

The nation has unanimously asked to be governed by a Governor and Council. The advantage of such a Government is that we should get an experienced and impartial statesman to be Governor who is not blinded by the prejudices and idiosyncracies common to almost all the members of the Civil Service. How thankful the whole nation is to His Excellency Lord Minto for the recent high appointments to natives of India showing that he has not been guided by any considerations of race. But if the Bengali-speaking people were to remain undisturbed under any redistribution scheme then Lord Curzon's object of destroying the political ascendancy of Bengal would have been frustrated. The Civil Service acquiesced in it because the creation of a new Province always brings into prominence several of its members who would otherwise remain in obscurity. One of the reasons given for the partition was that the Lieutenant Governor

could not find time to visit all the districts under his administration. It is well known what the visit of the Lieutenant Governor means. Can anyone honestly say that instead of doing harm it does any good to the people or bring efficiency to the administration? When the Lieutenant Governor's visit is announced, a Reception Committee is formed, subscriptions are practically extorted from the land owners and other wealthy citizens who unfortunately cannot refuse to pay for fear of having their names put down on the disloyal list. If they have not the money, they must borrow it on mortgaging their property.

Large sums must be raised befitting the occasion for fire works, bands, and triumphal arches. The bands announce the arrival of the Lieutenant Governor who holds a *Darbar*, shakes hands with some of the local magnates, smiles on others, visits the court premises, the jail and the local schools or Madrasahs and then leaves the place. The Lieutenant Governor with his suite travels by special trains or in his luxuriously fitted boat, such visits are pleasure trips to him at the expense of the country but what benefit the people derive from them I for myself cannot comprehend. To me the whole thing is a free waste of public money and time and harassments of Local zamindars some of whom are already contemplating selling their property and leaving the districts amongst other reasons to avoid these so called voluntary contributions.

If such visits are going to be frequent as a result of the partition then they will develop into veritable visitations. This is one of the innumerable boons which the partition is going to confer on the people.



Gentlemen, now that the Government, disregarding the sentiment, the prayer and the universal protests of the people have so cruelly dismembered our beloved motherland, what is our duty to her now?

Our duty is never to recognise this partition as final and always to consider ourselves united as we were before the memorable 16th October, 1905, and we have already shown it by coming to this Conference at Barisal from all parts of Bengal as we used to do before the partition. This Conference will discuss as heretofore all questions affecting the interest and welfare of United Bengal, and if the Government were to divide Bengal into twenty different parts, the result, I hope, would be just the same. We are determined to remain one indivisible nation and nothing on earth can separate us.

On the 16th October last we took a solemn vow in solemn form never to acknowledge this partition of our province but ever to remain one and united.

If we are true sons of mother Bengal, if we are not to be traitors, if we are not to sell our birth-right for official favour, we shall fearlessly adhere to our vow like men and if our efforts fail we shall bequeath it as a legacy to our children.

Undone the partition is sure to be. It is only a question of time. Our case is so strong and so unanswerable that nothing is wanted to insure its complete success but resolute perseverance and disinterested action on the part of all Bengalis, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian.

We must continue our agitation with renewed vigour and redoubled energy always remembering the

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we have nobody to support us and that we must rely entirely on our own efforts. Some non official Anglo Indians here did promise to help us in this matter but for fear of incurring the wrath of the stronger party, viz., the Government they deserted the weaker one, viz., the people.

We undoubtedly did expect a great deal of support from the Liberal Party in England specially from Mr Morley—"Honest John" as he is called, but we have been bitterly disappointed. When we could not get any relief from one of the most honest and large hearted men like Mr Morley it is futile to expect anything from any living English statesman.

It is a great mistake on our part to put any reliance on either of the two English parties. As for as India is concerned, it makes very little difference whether the Liberals or Tories are in power, because they are equally ignorant about India and equally indifferent as to Indian affairs. India must be kept outside party politics and being an Asiatic country must be ruled with a rod of iron. This is the crant in vauge in England now a-days and this is the principle on which both parties act. They like to brag about India as the bright

Bright is gone for ever, spurious imperialism has taken its place and dominates England now.

The English people are now divided into Liberal Imperialists and Tory Imperialists. The former think now a days more of the expansion of the Empire, and trade than of those lofty principles for which English Liberalism was once famous all over the world. The English conscience is more elastic and pliable now than heretofore but for which no war in South Africa or the inhuman treatment to the Indians there would have been possible.

The Liberal Party like the Conservative Party mainly consists of the middle class people in England. India is a happy hunting ground for their sons. Young men for all the higher public services in India both Military and Civil are recruited from this class every year.

It is self interest which prevents them from making any concessions to India lest they in any way contribute to the diminution of the bureaucratic power in India the fall of which means the loss of provision for their sons. Therefore they will not interfere with the Government of India even when it is necessary to do so for the sake of justice.

Owing to this attitude on the part of the Liberal Party in the past a large portion of our countrymen are reluctant to look to it or the Government of India for sympathy or support and insist upon self help and self reliance. I do not think there can be two opinions as to the fact that if we want to rise as a nation we must principally depend upon ourselves and on our own efforts but at the same time we ought to

instance Japan has done, but the sphere within which a people under foreign domination can move is very limited

We cannot enter the military service nor have we any voice in the shaping of the military policy of the country. Whether the forces that we have are sufficient for the defence, or are in excess of the needs of the country, we the people of the country cannot decide. We pay taxes but we have no control or power over the expenditure for the public needs of the country.

In these matters whether the country is to progress or to retrograde depends upon the sweet will of our rulers. But as regards the economic condition of the country, at any rate, whether the country is to progress or to retrograde depends upon ourselves. What articles we should use and what articles we should discard it is for us to decide. In this matter, we Indians can serve our country by resuscitating those industries which are already dead, reviving those that are dying, improving those that we already have, establishing new ones using the products of our own country and eschewing the foreign ones. We have resolved to do so. This resolution has given rise to what is known by the name of the Swadeshi movement. The movement is simplicity itself. Its primary object is to promote the industrial development of the country. Time was when ours was a great cotton manufacturing country, when our muslins were the pride of European princesses, when instead of importing as we do now to our shame we used to export most extensively our cotton manufactures and supply the needs of various countries. All this we have lost through our wilful neglect. Our so-called education has made us hanker after everything

foreign and discard almost everything made in our own country till we have carried this mania to such an extent that we have driven our manufactures entirely out of the market and facilitated the import of foreign articles which in the case of cotton manufactures having increased by leaps and bounds. In fact we have ourselves killed our own industries.

Now the people have found out their folly and want to repent, and by way of doing penance, young and old, rich and poor, prince and peasant have taken vows to buy and use Swadeshi things—things made in their own country—with the sole object of advancing the industrial development of their country. This attitude of our people has naturally had an appreciable effect upon the pockets of the countrymen of our bureaucrats. But why it should be confounded with disaffection is beyond our comprehension. It is a wonder to us that the Government, despite its pretensions as to its being in favour of the scientific and industrial advancement of the country, should look upon this Swadeshi movement as seditious. From the measures which the Government of the new Province has adopted for its repression, the natural inference is that our rulers want to protect the interests of their countrymen at the expense of those of ours.

The success of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal has been to a great extent due to the efforts and work of our undergraduates, graduates and other young men who being animated by the enthusiasm created by this movement, sometimes go about singing patriotic songs such as 'Bande Mataram' which has given great offence to our rulers. As far as I know, singing patriotic songs has never been considered an offence in any country before, but in our country the word of

be practical politicians and not political dreamers and philosophers. We know that there are some very good, honest and justice loving Englishmen in the Liberal Party who are always ready and willing to help us in our aspirations. Now to my mind it will not be inconsistent with our idea of self help and self reliance to take advantage of their help or even to petition the Government here, when we have a sympathetic Viceroy at its head, if we honestly believe that by doing so we shall further the interests of our country. But I do consider it derogatory to our national pride and honour to petition the Government for help on any and every occasion as we have sometimes done in the past. We have learnt in our younger days that Help from without is often enfeebling in its effect but help from within invariably invigorates. Whatever is done for men or classes to a certain extent takes away the stimulus and necessity of doing for themselves.

We must study self help, self sacrifice, self reliance and devotion to our motherland. When we have accomplished that we shall be in a position to do all. Remember the word Bushido which has made Japan what she is now. Defeat of the Japanese at Kagasaki which was bombarded and destroyed by the English in 1863 was the cause of the great naval victory which Admiral Togo won for Japan last year in the great battle of the sea of Japan. The disaster at Kagasaki was really a blessing in disguise for the Japanese. It opened their eyes to the fact that they as a nation had great responsibilities and that if they were to exist as a nation they must give up their internecine quarrels and sink all private differences and unite for the sole purpose of improving the condition of their country and successfully resisting any



foreign aggression. Since 1863 they have turned their attention to the scientific and industrial progress of their country. They have sent their young men to Europe and America to learn what those countries could teach them in different branches of science and art. They were determined to raise a strong army and a powerful navy and they have done so and it is well known now how in their struggle with Russia their military and naval forces acquitted themselves. A Japanese gentleman said to a European gentleman during the Russo Japanese war that before that gigantic struggle Japan despite her progress in art and civilization was looked upon by Europe and America as a barbarous Asiatic power but now that she has been able to kill thousands of Europeans in the war she is unanimously recognised as one of the great civilised powers.

Lord Curzon's malignant attempt at the destruction of the unity of Bengal in 1905, though a great calamity, ought to be looked upon by us a great blessing in disguise.

What we could not have accomplished in 50 or 100 years that great disaster the Partition of Bengal has done for us in 6 months.

Its first fruits have been the great national movement known as the Swadeshi movement. It is the Partition which has brought it about. It is no longer confined to Bengal but has spread far and wide over India. That Swadeshi movement though a bugbear to our rulers is nothing but one's sincere devotion to one's country, one's desire to serve her in every possible way. There are various ways in which an independent people can serve their country, as for

our rulers is required to be considered law and must be obeyed

In order to deprive the Swadeshi movement of the great support given to it by these young men, officers of the Government at once issued circulars prohibiting under penalty all students from joining political meetings. I do not know whether Sir Bimfylde Fuller is a University man or not, but I have some experience of University life, and I have never heard that it was a crime for graduates and undergraduates to attend political meetings. But we must not forget that this is a new *regime* altogether. We may have a new circular before long. These circulars have been declared by one of the greatest English lawyers to be absolutely illegal; but they have not yet been withdrawn, and under their authority, young and inexperienced Inspectors of Schools forgetting the traditions of their Universities, have been playing pranks with the students and their teachers. These foolish and arbitrary methods only incited the people to carry on the Swadeshi propaganda with greater zeal and energy. The panic at Manchester and the Government's determination to suppress the movements at any cost being simultaneous, naturally led the people to believe that the object of the Government in putting it down was simply to further the interests of the English manufacturers.

In connection with the Swadeshi movement Barisal must take the place of honour. She has suffered for the faith in the cause more than any other place. Her sons have been the first in obtaining the crown of martyrdom.

Taking advantage of petty quarrels and absolutely unfounded rumours about European ladies being

ill-treated and insulted at Barisal the Government sent the Goorkha Police to the town and posted punitive Police in two of its villages. We have heard of little boys being prosecuted for singing 'Bande Mataram,' and of respectable citizens being belaboured by the Goorkhas at Barisal and by the Assam Police at Serajunge, and these will remain for ever a bitter memory. The introduction of the Goorkhas and the reign of terror that prevailed at Barisal will not be a proud record of British rule in India.

The Government is sadly mistaken if it thinks it can terrorise the people in this way. The people do not get so easily frightened now a days. They have learnt better.

It was here at Barisal that the respected leaders of the people were insulted by the Governor of the Province. Perhaps he thought that by thus treating them he would lower them in the estimation of the people. He was wrong in so thinking. These men on Board his own steamer were his guests and it is regrettable that he should have forgotten the ordinary courtesies as between one man and another under those circumstances. These men, however, have risen in public esteem and I on your behalf tender them our best homage. Other places like Rungpur and Mymensingh have suffered and are still suffering and will suffer for their patriotism and devotion to the Swadeshi movement.

But repression can never extinguish a true cause though it may temporarily retard its progress. The Swadeshi movement is a true and holy cause. Though its primary object is to foster the industrial and scientific advancement of the country, it has awakened

in India a new sense of rational consciousness and unity. It has united the rich and poor, the educated and the uneducated. It has kindled the spirit of self reliance and self sacrifice which the people have taken vows to uphold. If our repentance is genuine, if we are determined to do penance for the sins we have committed in the past by having too long neglected our mother land, we can never forsake and can never be untrue to this great national movement.

I cannot understand some people who advocate the cause of the Swadeshi movement but condemn "boycotting." This is an economic question. One must naturally follow the other. The word "boycott" may be offensive to some ears, but the success of the Swadeshi movement means the abstention from or "boycotting of foreign goods." If we give preference to articles made in our own country and reject those made in foreign countries, this means boycotting the foreign articles. Why should it give offence to the Government or any body? Surely, in our own houses at least we are our own masters, and can choose what articles to buy and what to reject.

We are not an independent nation. We have no legislature of our own. We cannot by legislation keep foreign articles out of the market by building up tariff walls as Europe and America are doing. England has done the same. When cotton was first manufactured in England a succession of statutes were passed prohibiting the wear of imported cottons in order to foster the nascent industry. The only way by which we can protect our own industries is by eschewing or boycotting foreign goods.

Now about the boycotting of British goods in particular. Gentlemen I am entirely in favour

of it. The whole nation has in no uncertain voice petitioned the Government to annul the Partition. We have implored the interposition of the British people to redress our grievances, but all in vain. Our petitions have been slighted and the British people have turned a deaf ear to our grievances.

Not very long ago Macedonia and the tiny island of Crete made the whole of Europe listen to their grievances, and yet we eighty millions of people cannot make our grievances heard by one Power.

The only thing that lies in our power is to keep up a vigorous 'boycott' of British goods. If we can only continue it for a few years, our grievances will then force themselves upon the unwilling ears of the British people. It will at the same time give such an impetus to the industries which are springing up everywhere (for we have done wonders in Bengal in the course of ten months as far as the weaving industry is concerned) that in the words of a writer in the *New Age* the greatest curse under which India groans—the drainage of millions of pounds annually from our shores—will perceptibly diminish.

The permanence of the success of this national movement depends upon the education of the masses. This is the most important thing in the constitution of a nation without which no nation can prosper. The cause of our lagging behind other nations in the race of progress is our want of education. It is a reflection on the British rule in India that what it could not accomplish in the field of education in 100 years the Japanese have done for Japan within less than 40 years.

Whatever confidence there was in the Government with regard to its education policy has disappeared.

since the passing of the Universities Act and the issuing of the Pedler Circular. The question of education therefore must be taken up by the people without further delay.

A right beginning has been made by the inauguration of the National Council of Education. The thanks of the nation are due to two very young donors, *viz.*, Babu Brojo Kishore Roy Chaudhuri of Goutipara and Babu Subodh Chandra Mullick of Calcutta, for their magnificent gifts. The National Council will have two departments—one literary and the other scientific and technical. The object is to impart education both literary and technical on National lines as cheaply as possible. Amongst other things the Council, if well supported,—and I have not the slightest doubt that it will be well supported by the nation,—will establish industrial and technical schools all over the country to teach our youths how to make with small capital the necessities of life which we now import from foreign countries. We must make the National Council of Education an institution worthy of the name of Bengal. The whole of India is looking forward to our making it a success. It is a gigantic undertaking. Gentlemen, you must remember that the six lakhs of rupees which we have got from the two generous donors, very handsome gifts though they be, are like drops in the ocean. In order to have a well equipped University or Institution, we require something like a crore of rupees and what is a crore of rupees to a nation of 80 millions of people. When England alone can have 7 or 8 Universities which are all supported by private donations it will be a disgrace to us if we cannot support one university which will educate us in all the different branches of art and science that we require for our purpose here.

Of course it is not possible to secure such a large sum of money at once but if we one and all contribute our mites to its funds, in the course of a very few years it will amount to a very respectable sum.

Let us therefore support this National Council of Education with all our heart so that we may in a short time raise it to the status of a full fledged University, which by imparting education on National lines will make men of us. By National lines we mean among other things, inspiring students with a genuine love for and a real desire to serve their country. Without such education our leaders in fact have created a situation from which they find it difficult to extricate themselves.

They have now become indifferent to everything that vitally concerns them. They are a mass of inaction they are politically dead. How has it been brought about? To my mind it has been brought about by their so called leaders. These leaders in order to curry favour with the Government and thereby serve their own interests, have entirely disregarded those of the community and told the latter that by the dispensation of providence they have been placed under a benign and perfect Government and that it would be impolitic on their part to concern themselves with the politics of the country. Whatever the Government condescends to give them they ought to receive with gratitude. A subject race has no rights and privileges, whatever they get from the Government they get as a favour. Their only duty is to pay taxes and all other matters concerning their interests and welfare should be left to the superior judgment of the Government. If they were to interfere with the infallible judgment of the Government they would suffer in pocket by not

getting into Government service. This doctrine, the wisdom of which they have never challenged but which has been blindly followed by them has led them to where they are now. I do not know whether we Mahomedans have reached the lowest stage of degradation or not but as far as I can see the present stage is low enough. It is difficult to know if there is any sphere of life in which we do not meet with disgrace and humiliation.

If we had exercised our own judgment and had not relied upon that of our leaders we should have found out long ago the hollowness of this teaching. We have often been told that the Hindus are disloyal subjects because they dare question the infallibility of the Government. We Mahomedans should have nothing to do with them. Would to God that we could only see what we have gained by our policy and what the Hindus have attained by theirs! Whatever the Government may say of our leaders we cannot dissociate ourselves from the Hindus. For good or for evil we are indissolubly bound together. We are the sons of the same mother land. Our political interests are identical with those of the Hindus. In religious matters our interest may be the same as those of the Chinese or Zanzibar Mahomedans but in purely political matters we are in the same boat with our Hindu and Christian countrymen. Yet the perversity of our leaders has made us so blind as not to appreciate this plain truth.

We refrained from co-operating with the Hindus in the Congress movement twenty years ago, having been tempted by offers of Government appointments. But have we realised what has happened to us since



then? Whereas we have gone down lower and lower the Hindus have made steady progress. The English people whatever they may be, are not wanting in appreciation. They respect the Hindus for their fearless criticism and despising us at heart for our sycophancy and political cowardice make use of us for political purposes. We were always deluded with the idea that if we kept ourselves aloof from all political movements we should be in the good graces of the Government and monopolise Government posts. But have we done so? In the High Court of Calcutta there are three Hindu Judges but not a single Mahomedan Judge. Was there no Mahomedan lawyer in Calcutta competent enough to occupy a seat on the High Court bench? Supposing there was not the Government, if it wanted to encourage the Mahomedans could have imported one from the Lahore or Allahabad Bar. But has it done so?

In other departments too Mahomedan claims are overlooked simply because the so called leaders will not exert themselves for fear of offending the authorities and because there is no unity among the Mahomedans and there is no such thing as Mahomedan public opinion. This ought to convince us that if we want to be respected by others if we wish to have our voice heard and influence felt we must give up the doctrine that has been preached to us in season and out of season. We must think for ourselves we must exercise our own judgment in matters that affect the welfare of the whole community. Take for instance the Partition question and Swadeshi movement. Some of the Mahomedans have been told that the Partition is for the benefit of the Mahomedans because a lot of Mahomedans will get appointments. The cause of the

the statement of their leaders is gospel truth, if they were to think for themselves they would see that their salvation more than that of the Hindus lies in this movement. Can any Mohammedan in his senses deny that the impetus given by this *Swadeshi* movement to the weaving industry of the country is benefiting the Mohammedan weavers all over the country? Can anybody deny that many poor Mohammedan families in Calcutta who used to starve before, are comfortably maintaining themselves because of the *bird* industry? Hindus, being admittedly more educated than the Mohammedans can obtain posts more easily than the Mohammedans who have to depend upon trade or manual labour.

Now some people take a lot of coaxing before they are persuaded to believe in the truth of the *Swadeshi* cause, but when the masses will be educated on National lines when they will understand their own responsibilities and when they will feel that as a nation they will have to play an important part on the stage of the world, then the *Swadeshi* cause will need no preacher, no coaxing no impetus from without the impetus will come from within. We must by education open the eyes of our people to see and feel our degradation and humiliation and teach them to remember that though we are not treated by our rulers better than the savage races as far as the Government of the country is concerned we have not always been what we are now. We have had a civilization of our own. Our ancestors were civilized at the time when those of our rulers had not passed the stage of the state of nature. We have a glorious past and we must make our future as glorious. Henceforth to educate the masses on national lines must be the sacred duty of every educated citizen.

It may be that the Government may not recognize the degrees and certificates of proficiency conferred on the successful candidates by the National Council of education. If such contingency does arise, the nation must be prepared to hold out prospects for them. The capitalists must open their purse and engage the services of those trained in the Technical Department and the zemindars and the mercantile classes employ most extensively those educated in the General Department. The Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education ought to be congratulated on being able to send this year 44 young men to Europe, America and Japan. We hope more will be sent every year. But what will those trained by the National Council of Education or these young men on their return do if the nation will not make use of their services?

Gentlemen, there is a splendid future before us if the nation will only rise to the occasion and do its duty. Gentlemen we must pay special attention to another great problem that is before us. It is how to get rid of our inordinate craving for Government service. This desire has been the cause of our downfall and degradation, specially of that of my co religionists. The only ambition of our life is to become Government servants no matter what it brings to us.

A Bengali clerk whether Hindu Mahomedan or Christian drawing Rs. 20 a month and working 10 or 12 hours a day is quite proud of his position and boasts of being a Government servant. We have carried it to such excess as to bring on ourselves the ridicule of the people of other parts of India who have prospered in trade. They wonder why we Bengalis instead of

This is not the way to conciliate a people who have quite recently suffered in unprecedented calamity and are still in mourning. No Government can be a good Government which has not the approval and support of the governed. This attitude will only further widen the breach between the rulers and the ruled.

In conclusion I wish to say a few words to my Mahomedan countrymen who by holding themselves aloof from the politics of the country have been doing harm to themselves as well as the community.

The success of the *Swadeshi* movement all over India will be more beneficial to the Mahomedans than to the Hindus. Yet some Mahomedans will not co-operate with the Hindus to make it a success. Why because they are told by their leaders not to do so.

I, therefore appeal to my Mahomedan countrymen to give up their indifference to politics and join the Hindus and co-operate with them in all matters concerning the welfare of the common motherland. Unless you are ready to migrate in a body to Arabia, Persia or Turkey, your political interests will ever be the same as those of the people of other denominations in Bengal. The principle 'Divide and Rule' is well known to all of us. It is because we are divided that we have made it possible for our rulers to rule over us in the way we are ruled. United we stand divided we fall is an adage which is most applicable to our case. Bengal with a united population, though the Government has done much to disunite them—will withstand any bureaucratic attempts to subjugate body and mind and will successfully resist any menaces or repressions. There is no denying that a cloud rests all

over Bengal. It is a dark and heavy cloud and its darkness extends over the feeling of men in all parts of the country. But if we can only be united that cloud will be dispelled. The dangers that surround us will vanish and we may yet have the happiness of leaving to our children the heritage of an honorable citizenship in a united and prosperous Bengal.

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